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HERALDS AND HERALDRY IN
JONSON'S PLAYS.



ILLUSTRATION FROM LEGH'S ACCEDENS OF ARMORY, 1576.

ACHIEVEMENT OF THOMAS LORDE HAWARDE,
DUKE OF NORFOLKE.

Folio, 43 a

HERALDS AND HERALDRY

In Ben Jonson's Plays, Masques
and Entertainments

B Y

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PREFACE.

MY ENDEAVOR, in these studies in the Heraldry of Ben Jonson, has been two-fold: first, to present on a basis of sixteenth and seventeenth century sources, those elements of the heraldry of the time that are essential to an understanding and enjoyment of the heraldic passages in Jonson's works; and, second, to annotate in order these heraldic passages in his plays, masques, and entertainments, partly in the hope of amplifying the notes of Jonson's editors, partly in the hope of correcting a portion of the numerous heraldic misstatements they have made.

So large is the subject, however, that I can hope to make only a beginning, and that with much caution. When Ralph Brooke, the York herald of Ben Jonson's day, gave vent to his pique that William Camden, headmaster of Westminster School, had been appointed, over Brooke and other heralds of long service, to the office of Clarencieux king of arms, Brooke warned his successful rival that even "a king muft be content to be laughed at, if he come into Appeles shoppe and difpute about collours and portraiture." If this could be rightly said of learned Camden, at that time justly famed for his *Britannia*, well may we modern students of Ben Jonson's plays hesitate before venturing to discuss the mysteries of arms and pedigrees. I hope

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PREFACE.	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS.	xiii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.	xvii

PART I. THE HERALDS AND HERALDRY OF JONSON'S DAY.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOURCES FOR OUR STUDY.—Why the heraldic passages in Jonson invite discussion.—Scope and divisions of the present study.—Our principal sources should be the manuals of heraldry known to Jonson's audience : Legh's <i>Accedens of Armory</i> ; Ferne's <i>Blazon of Gentrie</i> ; Bolton's <i>Elements of Armories</i> ; Guillim's <i>Display of Heraldry</i> ; and others—Legh's manual, the most important.—Its erudition.—Its discursiveness.—Its content.—Its short-comings.—Representative of the decadent heraldry of Jonson's day.	3
--	---

CHAPTER II.

THE SHIELD, ITS TINCTURES, FORMS, POINTS AND PARTITIONS.—Armorial insigna.—The shield.—The field.—The tinctures : metals, colours, and furs.—Blazon.—Blazon of tinctures.—Tricking.—Composition of tinctures.—Forms of the shield.—The lozenge.—The points of the shield.—The nine partitions : especially party per pale, quarterly, and geronne or gyrony.	13
--	----

CHAPTER III.

THE CHARGES, OR BEARINGS.—Definitions.—Three classes.—The nine Honorable Ordinaries : especially the cross, the chief, the chevron, and the saltier.—The nine Ordinaries Generall.—The fifteen Common Charges	
---	--

mentioned by Jonson: annulet, bezant, boar, boar's head, dragon, eagle, fleur-de-lis, greyhound, label, leek, lion, plate, rose, star, sun.—Differences and marks of cadency.	26
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

THE MARSHALLING OF ARMS.—Definitions.—Importance of the subject.—Laws of marshalling.—Same, as stated by Glover, Somerset herald 1571-88.—Examples from his <i>Visitation of Yorkshire</i> : pedigree and arms of Clapham of Beamsley; of Dransfield of Stubbs Walden; of Borough of Borough and of Lawson of Brough.—As a final illustration, an attempt to reconstruct the pedigree and arms of her Grace, Aurelia Clara Pecunia, the Infanta, in Jonson's <i>Staple of News</i>	37
--	----

CHAPTER V.

THE ACCESSORIES, AND THE COMPLETE ACHIEVEMENT.—Definitions.—Crest.—Wreath.—Helmet.—Mantling.—Illustration: achievement of a knight.—Word, or motto.—Supporters.—Illustration: achievement of a duke.—Garter.—Illustration: achievement of a baron.—Badges, or cognizances.—Royal badges.	50
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

THE HERALDS' COLLEGE, OR COLLEGE OF ARMS.—Incorporation.—Earl Marshal.—Members: kings of arms; heralds; pursuivants.—Description by John Dodridge, the Solicitor General, 1600.—Duties of the heralds as defined by Dodridge.—Duties of the kings of arms as defined by Francis Thynne, Lancaster herald, 1605.—A detailed consideration of three duties of the heralds: the conferring of arms; the recording and certifying of pedigrees; and the supervision of funerals.—Why such a consideration is important to the student of Jonson's plays.—Jonson satarized not heraldry but its abuse.	61
---	----

Table of Contents

xv

PART II. NOTES ON THE HERALDIC PASSAGES IN JONSON'S PLAYS, MASQUES AND ENTERTAIN- MENTS.	75
THE ALCHEMIST.*	77
BARTHOLOMEW FAIR.—I, I; Wks, II, 153.—II, I; Wks, II, 158-9.	77
THE CASE IS ALTERED.—IV, IV; Wks, II, 544.	78
CATILINE HIS CONSPIRACY.—II, I; Wks, II, 92.	79
CYNTHIA'S REVELS.—II, I; Wks, I, 162.—III, III; Wks, I, 170.	79
THE DEVIL IS AN ASS.*	80
THE FOX: See VOLPONE.	
EPICENE, OR THE SILENT WOMAN.—I, I; Wks, I, 411: The arms of Sir Amorous La-Foole.—III, II; Wks, I, 433: Dr. Henry's misinterpretation.—IV, II; Wks, I, 418: Dr. Henry's misinterpretation.	80
EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR.—Dedication; Wks, I, 1: William Camden as Clarencieux king of arms; his controversy with Brooke, York herald; his con- troversy concerning his deputies; his bequests to his colleagues.—I, III; Wks, I, 10-11.	83
EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR.—I, I; Wks, I, 75.—II, I; Wks, I, 90.—II, II; Wks, I, 95.—III, I; Wks, I, 97.—III, I; Wks, I, 100.—Same reference: The crest of Sogliardo.—Same: the shield of Sogliardo.—Same: Summary of the arms of Sogliardo.	89
THE MAGNETIC LADY.*	99
MORTIMER, THE FALL OF.*	99
THE NEW INN.—II, II; Wks, II, 354.	99
THE PORTASTER.—I, I; Wks, I, 212.—II, I; Wks, I, 218: The arms of Crispinus; relation of, to the name or arms of the poet Marston; Mr. F. G. Fleay's in- terpretation; Dr. B. Nicholson's interpretation; Rev. A. B. Grosart's opinion thereon; Dr. H. S. Mallory's opinions; the opinion of the present writer.—V, I; Wks, I, 253.	99
THE SAD SHEPHERD.*	104
SEJANUS, HIS FALL.*	104
THE SILENT WOMAN: See EPICENE.	
THE STAPLE OF NEWS.—Dramatis Personæ; Wks, II, 278.	105

I, II; Wks, II, 287-8: "Buried with the trumpeters;" popular opposition to heraldic funerals in 1618 et seq.; Dr. Winter's inadequate note thereon.	105
II, I; Wks, II, 292: "I have read the <i>Elements</i> and <i>Accidence</i> and all the leading books;" Dr. Winter's misinterpretation.	108
II, I; Wks, II, 292: "This so pure complexion, a perfect sanguine;" Dr. Winter's misinterpretation, and incidental heraldic errors.	109
II, I; Wks, II, 301.	113
IV, I; Wks, II, 321: Pecunia's pedigree.. . . .	114
" " 321-2: Gifford's note.	114
" " 321: Dr. Winter's note.	115
" " 321: Arms of the Duke of Or.	117
" " 322: Another coat.	118
" " 322: The Welsh coat.	119
" " 323.	121
" " 324: Jonson's opinion of heralds.	121
" " 325: "Nullify him for no gentleman."	122
A TALE OF A TUB.—I, III; Wks, II, 445.—II, I; Wks, II, 454.	124
VOLPONE, OR THE FOX.—I, I; Wks, I, 342.	126
MASQUES AND ENTERTAINMENTS.	
PART OF KING JAMES'S ENTERTAINMENT IN PASSING TO HIS CORONATION.—Wks, II, 556.—558-9.—562.	127
PRINCE HENRY'S BARRIERS.—Wks, III, 67.—67.—69.	130
A CHALLENGE AT TILT.—Wks, III, 88.	132
A MASQUE OF THE METAMORPHOSED GIPSIES.—Wks, III, 141.—145.	133
THE FORTUNATE ISLES.—Wks, III, 198.	134
LOVE'S TRIUMPH THROUGH CALLIPOLIS.—Wks, III, 203.	134
LOVE'S WELCOME AT WELBECK.—Wks, III, 215.—215. 216.	134
LOVE'S WELCOME AT BOLSOVER.—Wks, III, 221.—221.	135
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX.	137
BIBLIOGRAPHY: SOURCES.	139
GENERAL REFERENCE.	141
EDITIONS OF JONSON.	142
INDEX AND HERALDIC CONCORDANCE.	143

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Frontispiece. Specimen illustration from Legh's <i>Accedens of Armory</i> , 1576; Achievement of Thomas Lorde Hawarde, Duke of Norfolk. Folio 43 a.	
1. Specimen page from Legh's <i>Accedens of Armory</i> , 1576; Folio 1.	5
2. Arms of Anne, Princess of Denmark, Queen of James I.; reproduced from <i>The Mirrovr of Maiestie</i> , 1618.	21
3. The nine points of the shield; redrawn from Guillim's <i>Display of Heraldry</i> .	22
4. The nine partitions; redrawn from Legh.	24
5. A lion rampant; reproduced from Legh, Folio 44 a.	25
6. The nine honorable ordinaries; redrawn from Legh.	28
7. An heraldic label; " " "	32
8. An heraldic rose; " " "	32
9. An heraldic fleur-de-lis; " " "	32
10, 11, 12. Group to illustrate the laws of marshalling. Drawn by A. H. N., from blazons, i.e. heraldic descriptions, in Glover's <i>Visitation of Yorkshire</i> , 1585.	45
13. Hypothetical marshalling of the arms of her Grace, Aurelia Clara Pecunia, the Infanta, of Jonson's <i>Staple of News</i> . Drawn by A. H. N.	48
14. The achievement of a knight; reproduced from Legh, Folio 58 a.	53
15. The achievement of a baron; reproduced from Legh, Folio, 50 b.	57
16. Passant, guardant, and regardant. A full page, text and illustrations, reproduced from Legh, Folio 48 a, to illustrate a passage in Jonson's <i>Cynthia's Revels</i> , III, III.	81
17. Tricking of the arms of Sogliardo, in <i>Every Man Out of His Humour</i> , III, I. Drawn by A. H. N.	95
18. The Arms of Sogliardo, a complete achievement; from the blazon, i.e. the heraldic description, in <i>Every Man Out of Humour</i> , III, I. Drawn by A. H. N.	97

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 19. Alleged arms of the poet Marston, from a blazon of the arms of Marston in Burke's <i>Encyclopædia of Heraldry</i> ; to illustrate Dr. Nicholson's interpretation of the arms of Crispinus, in <i>The Poetaster</i> , II, I. Drawn by A. H. N. | 103 |
| 20. Modern device for representing Vert, Purple, and Sanguine; to illustrate Dr. Winter's interpretation of a passage in <i>The Staple of News</i> , II, I. | 110 |
| 21. A shield lozengy; text and illustration from Legh, Folio 92 a, to illustrate the present writer's objections to Dr. Winter's interpretation just mentioned. | 112 |
| 22. Azure, a sun; reproduced from Legh, Folio 58 b, to illustrate a portion of the arms of the Lady Pecunia, in <i>The Staple of News</i> , IV, I. | 117 |
| 23. Arms of James I; reproduced from <i>The Mirrovr of Maiestie</i> , 1618, to illustrate a passage in Jonson's <i>King James's Entertainment</i> . | 128 |
| 24. Arms of the City of London; to illustrate further the passage just mentioned. Drawn, on a basis of 16th and 17th century sources, by A. H. N. | 129 |
| 25. Feather Badge of Charles I, as Prince of Wales; reproduced from <i>The Mirrovr of Maiestie</i> , 1618, to illustrate a passage in Jonson's <i>Prince Henry's Barriers</i> . | 131 |



PART I.

THE HERALDS AND HERALDRY OF
JONSON'S DAY.

1. *Madman.* I have skill in harroldry.

2. *Madman.* Hast?

1. *Madman.* You do give for your creast a
woodcockes head, with the braines pickt out
on't; you are a very ancient gentleman.

—Webster : *The Duchess of Malfi*, IV, 2.

PART I. THE HERALDS AND HERALDRY OF JONSON'S DAY.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOURCES FOR OUR STUDY.

IN VIEW of the vast and varied technical knowledge displayed by Jonson in his dramatic works, it is not surprising to find that he possessed a detailed familiarity with the science of Heraldry. The wonder is rather that, although the casual heraldic allusions in the plays of Shakspeare have been made the subject of a monograph,¹ no one has written, heretofore, on the far more numerous and technical heraldic passages in the plays of Jonson. The heraldry of Shakspeare has far less need of annotation. "They may give," says Slender, "the dozen white *luces* in their *coat*;" to which the Welshman replies, "The dozen white *louses* do become an old *coat* well."² But Jonson's heraldic jests are buried beneath a mass of technical terminology. For example: "Gyrony of eight pieces, azure and gules; between three plates, a chevron engrailed checquy, or, vert, and ermins; on a chief argent, between two ann'lets sable, a boar's head proper."³

That much excellent satire exists even in such passages as the foregoing, I hope presently to show. Such is at least one of my purposes in the notes that constitute "Part II." But before I annotate particular passages, it is desirable that I present, as "Part I," a clear state-

¹ *Heraldik in Diensten der Shakespeares Forschung. Selbststudien von Alfred von Maunz.* Berlin. Mayer & Muller. 1903. ² *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I, I. ³ *Every Man Out of His Humour*, III, I; Works, I, 100.

ment of so much of the science of Heraldry as actually appears in the dramatic works of Jonson. This statement, moreover, should be based not on the theory of heraldry as taught by modern manuals, nor on the theory of heraldry as it was practiced in its prime, but on heraldry as it was popularly known and practiced in Jonson's day, a period of heraldic decadence.

Our most obvious sources for such a study are the official records of the Heralds' Office, many of which are now accessible in print. For our present purpose, however, these records are not our only sources, nor our best. What we wish to study is not chiefly the heraldry of the time as it was understood by the officers of the Heralds' College, but rather, the heraldry of the time as it was understood by Jonson and his audience. Whatever went into the popular manuals of heraldry in Jonson's day, *that* with most likelihood, we may suppose familiar to the play-going public. These popular manuals, therefore, whether written by heralds or by laymen, must constitute our most important source.

Who were the popular authorities on heraldry in Jonson's day? Jonson himself has given us one answer: "Sir," says his young pursuivant, Master Piedmantle, "I have read the *Elements* and *Accidence*, and all the leading books."⁴ The former is a work by Jonson's friend Edmond Bolton; the latter, an earlier manual by Gerard Legh. Camden, in his *Remains concerning Britain*, repeats these names and adds two more; he cordially refers his readers "to Edmond Bolton, who learnedly and judiciously hath discovered the first Elements of Armory, to Gerrard Leigh, John Ferne, John Guillim."⁵ Guillim, whose *Display of Heraldry*, 1610, is the ablest treatise of them all, gives as his sources, "Ger. Leigh, Bofwell,

⁴ *Staple of News*, II, I; *Works*, II, 292. ⁵ Camden: *Remains concerning Britain*, 1674; Reprint of 1870, p. 248.

The Accedens of Armory.

Legh.

Gerard. .10



Od saue you sir Herehaughte.
 Gerarde. And you alio. VVhat
 are you and vwherefore come
 yehether? L. I am a Calighate
 knight, and vnderstandinge ye
 are an Herehaught, come to ler-
 ne those thinges, that you are
 bound to teache me: that is, to blase Armes, vvith
 all the termes thereto appertayning, vvith my ser-
 uice to my Soueraign. G. And if I vvere not bound
 to doe it by myne othe, yet of Curtesy I will te-
 ache you. And because ye are vvyllinge, I wyll the
 sooner instructe you, euen from the beginnyng,
 to the ende. Tellinge you for the first pointe, that
 there are nync sondrye fieldes, of the whyche,
 seuen of them hee termed Coloures, and two,
 Mettalles. L. whyche are they? G. The two Met-
 talles are Goulde and Siluer. And the seuen Co-
 lours, are Redd, lyght Blewe, Blacke, Greene,
 Violet, Orenge Tawney, and Murrey. But you
 must not so terme them. vwherefore, I wil set their
 propre names vvithin euery of their Scotcheons.
 And for to call them by these names, it wete shame
 amongst the Herehaughtes, and not worthe the
 name of blasonne, But to the effecte. First I vvyl
 begynne with the most precious metall, Goulde.
 (Or.)

Ferne, Bara, Chaffaneus." ⁶ A generation later, Matthew Carter, Esq., who was quarter-master general to King Charles in the campaign of Colchester, 1648, still accounts "Leigh, Ferne, Guillim, and others" to be "the best I could confult in this study." ⁷ And finally, the 1661 edition of Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, (I have not seen the original edition, 1622), refers to "Bara, Upton, Gerrard Leigh, Mafter Fern, Mafter Guilliam (late Porcullis purfuivant) in his Methodicall Display of Heraldry, with fundry others." ⁸ In these five lists we note: first, that Gerard Legh's *Accedens of Armory* is mentioned by all; second, that the work of Ferne is named by all save Jonson, and the work of Guillim by all save Jonson and himself; and, third, that Bolton's *Elements of Armory*, mentioned by Jonson, is especially commended by William Camden, Esq., Clarencieux. If we consider, further, that Legh's *Accedens* passed through seven editions from its first appearance, 1562, to 1612, ⁹ and that Guillim's *Display of Heraldry* was published at least eight times from 1610 to the year of the so-called "sixth" edition, 1724, ¹⁰ we shall conclude that, for our discussion of heraldry as it was popularly known and practiced in Jonson's day, our chief reliance should be Gerard Legh, (or Leigh, as it was also spelled), our next, Guillim, and after that, Ferne, Bolton, and the "fondry others."

On a basis of these authorities, I purpose, in my next five chapters, to attempt an exposition of the science of heraldry of Jonson's day. First, however, I beg to introduce my friend, the garrulous and delightful Gerard

⁶ Guillim: *Display of Heraldry*, 1610; "Mr. Guillim's Preface to the Reader," here quoted from the editions of 1679 and 1724. ⁷ Carter: *Honor Redivivus*, 1655; p. 48. ⁸ Peacham: *The Compleat Gentleman*, "Third Impression," 1661, p. 178. ⁹ 1562; 1568; 1572; 1576; 1591; 1597; and 1612. —*Dict. Natl. Biog.* ¹⁰ 1610; 1632; 1638; 1660; 1664; 1666; the "fifth" edition, 1679; and the "sixth" edition, 1724. —*D. N. B.*

Legh. ¹¹ This worthy author is nothing if not scholarly. He declares that the laws of heraldry "were before the siege of Troye, as appeareth in Deuteronomion." ¹² He quotes from "an authour entituled Geſta Troianorū" to show how the order of knighthood came to be instituted by Asteriall, who "came of the lyne of that worthy gentleman, Iapheth." ¹³ He cites "the Genealogie of Mathewe & Luke" to prove "Ieſus Chriſt, a gentleman of great linnage." ¹⁴ He concludes his monograph with a six-column alphabetical index; and he prefixes a brief but soundly-selected Bibliography:—

"I will ſhewe ſo many as I haue authorized this Pamphilet by. And they are of number ix as folowen. 1. Nicholas Vpton, defcried blaſonne. 2. Nicholas VVarde, wrote of the whole worke. 3. Bartholus, of trickinge, and differences of bretherne and kinffolke. 4. Vlpianus wrote of the whole. 5. Buddeus, of the begynninge of the lawe of armes. 6. Alciatus, the booke called Paregon. 7. Fraunces of Foea, of vnperfect colours. 8. Honorius, of the order of battailes and combats. 9. Iohn le Feroune, of the blaſonne of colours." ¹⁵

But although Legh has these tricks of modern scholarship, he lacks the modern power of organization. Well does he call it his "dyſordered booke." ¹⁶ Perhaps the form he has chosen, a dialogue between an old herald and a pupil, encourages digressions. The question whether women may bear arms, suggests the story of King Lear and his three daughters. ¹⁷ The herald's assertion that a rebatement in an escutcheon is as much shame to the bearer thereof as it is to a woman to go naked, brings forth from the doubting pupil the story of Godwina. ¹⁸

¹¹ *The Accedens of Armory. . . . Imprinted at London in ſtele ſtrrete within temple Barre at the ſigne of the hand & ſtarre, by Richard Tottel, Anno. 1576.*

¹² Legh, Folio 21 b. ¹³ Ibid. Fol. 23 b. ¹⁴ Ibid. Fol. 13 b. ¹⁵ Ibid. Preface, A. ii. b. ¹⁶ Ibid. Fol. 135 a. ¹⁷ Ibid. Fol. 96 a - 97 a. ¹⁸ Ibid. Fol. 74 b.

Announcing his purpose to show "the signes that are borne," the old herald begins with the first of the nine "Honorable Ordinaries," the cross.¹⁹ But alas, when he has enumerated and described only forty-nine of the "diuers & fōdry forts of Croffes," a process that has occupied but twenty-four pages, his ungrateful pupil begs: "I pray you leaue of, & shewe me fome other leffon. For you vfe me like a dull scholler, to keepe me at the Chrifte croffe rowe, a whole weeke together."²⁰ And this protest so disturbs the thread of his discourse, that the herald does not get back to his "Honorable Ordinaries" for forty-four pages more.

In presenting, therefore, the substance of Legh's *Accedens of Armory*, I shall make no attempt to follow the exact order—or rather, "dyforder"—of my authority. Instead, I shall regroup its contents, so far as may be, in the order in which I purpose to treat the same material in my own chapters. Legh's subject-matter, in brief, I shall outline under four heads: (1) The Shield, its tinctures, forms, points, and partitions. (2) The Charges that may be borne upon it. (3) Complete Achievements, each consisting of a shield and its accessories. (4) The Heraldry, and other topics of discussion.

Under the first head, I place Legh's description of the several forms of the heraldic shield, of which "there are nine fundrye fashions, and al auncient;"²¹ the nine points of the shield, namely, the dexter point, the chief point, the sinister point, the honor point, the fesse point, the nombril, the dexter base point, the base point, and the sinister base point;²² and the nine partitions called per pale, quarterly, per fesse, per bend, (Legh misprints "fesse"), per bend sinister, per chevron, per saltier, per pile in point, and per geronne.²³ More elaborate is Legh's

¹⁹ Ibid. Fol. 27 b. ²⁰ Ibid. Fol. 39 b. ²¹ Ibid. Fol. 16 a - 21 a. ²² Ibid. Fol. 24 a - 25 a. ²³ Ibid. Fol. 25 a - 27 b.

discussion of the metals, colours, and furs, three classes which Legh's immediate successors grouped together under the common name of "tinctures." The metals and colours, Legh speaks of as the "nyne fondrye fieldes."²⁴ Here he enumerates as metals, or and argent, and as colours, geules, azure, sable, vert, purple, tenne, and sanguine. To each of these, Legh devotes from two to four pages. He specifies its qualities and its commendations; he names the corresponding planet, and the corresponding precious stone, each with further qualities and commendations; and he concludes with a table showing the significance of each field, first by itself, and then compounded with each of the other eight. Between the metals and colours and the furs, Legh sees no connection, and he reserves the furs for later consideration;²⁵ but as both Ferne and Guillim group the furs with the metals and colours, according to modern usage,²⁶ I shall so place them here. According to Legh, "There ar[e] nine fundry fures, which in scocheons are called by ix proper names, and in mantels they are called doublings."²⁷ These nine are: ermyne, argent, ermines, erminites, ermynois, pean, verrey, verry, and vair. Of all these heraldic terms, I shall presently define so many as are essential to an understanding of the plays of Jonson. In this chapter, my purpose is merely to show the content of Legh's book.

Under my second head, the Charges that may be borne upon the shield, falls perhaps the largest division of Legh's matter. Here are the crosses, forty-nine of them, as aforesaid.²⁸ Here are the other eight of the nine "Honorable Ordinaries," namely the chief, the pale, the bend and bend sinister, the fesse, the scocheon, the chevron, the salterye, and the barre, most of which have their

²⁴ Ibid. Fol. 1 a - 12 b. ²⁵ Ibid. Fol. 75 a - 78 a. ²⁶ Ferne, p. 163; Guillim, 1679, p. 35, and 1724, p. 7 and p. 21. ²⁷ Legh, Fol. 75 a. ²⁸ Ibid. Fol. 27 b - 39 b.

diminutives. ²⁹ Here are the "Ordinaries General," nine in number: the geronne, the urle (orle), the pyle, the quarter, the quarter sinister, the canton, the canton sinister, flasques, and voyders. ³⁰ Here are the lions: rampant, saliaunt, seiaunte, couchaunte, dormant, combatant, endorsed, passant, passant gardant, passant regardant, and many more. ³¹ Here are other beasts and birds: hart, unicorn, bull, boar, ram, horse, goat, grey-hound, talbot, ass, wolf, dolphin, serpent, eagle, cock, swan, raven, griffin, cockatrice; and of all these, Legh has most astonishing things to tell, for which, with scholarly accuracy, he cites Auicene, Plynie, Ifidore, the Hebrew Rabbines, and Phifeologus. ³² Here, also, are the heavenly bodies, the sun, the crescent, the increscent, the decrescent, and the star; ³³ twenty-two miscellaneous charges; ³⁴ and the nine roundels, ³⁵ the nine rebatings, ³⁶ the nine differences of brethren, ³⁷ and the nine bordures. ³⁸ And finally in this group I place Legh's "nine fundry mefles;" ³⁹ his nine worthy particions; ⁴⁰ his nine honorable ordinaries charged; ⁴¹ his nine coats commixed with two of the honorable ordinaries; ⁴² his nine coats unclassified; ⁴³ his nine sundry things borne in triangle; ⁴⁴ and his nine difficult coats to blaze. ⁴⁵ These last seven classes seem to serve chiefly as additional exercises for the pupil of blazonry.

As my third head, I group the four complete Achievements of Arms in which heraldic escutcheons are marshalled with their accessories. One of these is the achievement of a duke; another, that of a baron; the third, that of a knight; and the last, that of an esquire. Each is illustrated with a full-page cut, ⁴⁶ and each is carefully blazoned. They shew the disposition of the

²⁹ Ibid. Fol. 61 b-68 a. ³⁰ Ibid. Fol. 68 a-70 b. ³¹ 44 a-50 a. ³² 51 b-57 b; and 59 b-61 b. ³³ 58 b-59 a. ³⁴ 98 b-104 b. ³⁵ 86 b-88 b. ³⁶ 70 b-74 b. ³⁷ 106 b-110 b. ³⁸ 110 b-111 b. ³⁹ 78 a-80 a. ⁴⁰ 80 a-83 a. ⁴¹ 83 a-86 b. ⁴² 90 a-92 a. ⁴³ 92 a-93 b. ⁴⁴ 93 b-96 a. ⁴⁵ 105 a-106 b. ⁴⁶ Two of these cuts I reproduce in Chapter V, and a third as a frontispiece.

crest, wreath, helmet, mantlings, supporters, scroll, word, and badges, around the escutcheon; and they illustrate the marks distinguishing the several ranks. Their value for this purpose is lessened by the fact that Legh does not group the four achievements together, but scatters them as diversions along the way,⁴⁷ because he "will not tyer you with too much of one thing together."⁴⁸

Fourth, and last, I come to Legh's discussion of the heralds, and of various minor topics. Early in the book, he digresses to explain to whom arms were first given, and what are the nine kinds of gentlemen.⁴⁹ Presently the question arises, "When beganne armes? and whether at the fiege of Troye, or not?" and this he discusses to the extent of six pages.⁵⁰ Another topic is Whether women may bear arms, and how;⁵¹ and another, Wherefore he has so often used the number nine.⁵² More important is his discussion of the officers of arms, their degrees, duties, and creation.⁵³ Toward the end of the book, Legh indulges in some highly idealistic nonsense concerning the granting of arms and the appropriateness of the arms conferred,⁵⁴ and illustrates the form for a pedigree by giving, first ascending and then descending, the pedigree of Queen Elizabeth.⁵⁵ The remainder of the book, except for a rambling conclusion,⁵⁶ is devoted to a fanciful description of what the old herald of Legh's dialogue saw at the court of "Pallaphilos, the highe constable of the Goddesse [Pallas], . . . marshall of thinner Temple."⁵⁷

Such is the content of Gerard Legh's *Accedens of Armory*, one of the chief sources, apparently, from which the auditors of Jonson's plays would draw their knowledge

⁴⁷ Legh, Fol. 42 b - 44 a; 50 a - 51 b; 58 a-b; and 88 b - 89 b. ⁴⁸ Ibid. Fol. 58 b.

⁴⁹ 12 b - 16 a. ⁵⁰ 21 a - 24 a. ⁵¹ 96 a - 98 a. ⁵² 113 b - 114 a. ⁵³ 39 b - 42 b.

⁵⁴ 114 b - 117 a. ⁵⁵ 117 a - 118 a. ⁵⁶ 131 b - 135 b. ⁵⁷ 118 a - 131 a.

of the science of Heraldry. In some respects, the book is woefully inadequate. Of marshalling, for example, to which we shall devote an entire chapter, the *Accedens* says almost nothing.⁵⁸ Its definitions, too, are obscure or non-existent, as if Legh relied chiefly on his cuts to make his meaning clear. For definite statements, we shall have often to refer from Legh to less noted writers who came after him. But for the spirit of the heraldry of Jonson's day, its mystery, its sham, its learned ignorance, we need seek no more representative work than Legh's *Accedens of Armory*.

The heraldry of Jonson's day, so far as it will aid our knowledge and enjoyment of the plays of Jonson, I now purpose to present. The sources of my material, I have indicated in the present chapter; in the five chapters that follow, I shall offer the material itself. In these five chapters, my order of presentation will be as follows:—

Chapter II. The Shield: its tinctures, forms, points, and partitions.

Chapter III. The Charges that may be borne upon it.

Chapter IV. The Marshalling of several coats within one shield.

Chapter V. The Accessories, and the Complete Achievement.

Chapter VI. The Heralds' College, or College of Arms.

⁵⁸ Marshalling is mentioned incidentally under "Per pale" and "Quarterly," Fol. 25 a - 26 a.

CHAPTER II.

THE SHIELD: ITS TINCTURES, FORMS, POINTS, AND PARTITIONS.

THE INSIGNIA that form the chief subject-matter of the science of Heraldry, are variously denominated "arms," "coats," and "coats of arms." Thus, for example, in Jonson's *Catiline*, the aristocratic Sempronius refers to Cicero as,

... a mere upstart,
That has no pedigree, no house, no coat,
No ensigns of a family; ¹

And Mosca, in *Volpone*, speaks of

A piece of plate, sir, . . . huge,
Massy, and antique, with your name inscribed
And arms engraved. ²

A person entitled to a coat of arms is said to *bear* that coat :—

She bears, an't please you, argent, three leeks vert,
In Canton or, tasselled of the first. ³

And the verb *give* is used with a similar meaning :—

Does not Cæsar give the eagle? ⁴

The central and essential part of a complete coat of arms is the shield, scutcheon, or escutcheon. When thought of as the ground upon which heraldic insignia are placed, the escutcheon is denominated the *field*. "The Field," says Guillim, "is the whole Surface (if I may so call it) of the Shield, over-

¹ *Catiline*, II, I; Works, II, 92. ² *Volpone*, I, I; Wks, I, 342. ³ *Staple of News*, IV, I; Wks, II, 322. ⁴ *Poetaster*, V, I; Wks, I, 253.

spread with some Metal, Colour, or Furr, and comprehendeth in it the Charge, if it hath any." ⁵ Jonson makes frequent use of this term:—

... He bears
In a *field* azure, a sun proper. . . . ⁶

James Shirley, Jonson's avowed disciple, plays upon this word "field" and also upon the word "coats," which in his day was applied also to the so-called coat-cards, king, queen, and knave:—

Bostock. Name but one [of my rivals],
And if he cannot show as many coats—
Travers. He thinks he has good cards for her and likes
His game well.
Bostock. Be an understanding knight,
And take my meaning; if he show
As much in heraldry—
Travers. I do not know how rich he is in fields,
But he is a gentleman. ⁷

For a discussion of the Field, or, indeed, of any part of a coat of arms, some knowledge of the Tinctures is a pre-requisite. The term *Tincture*, according to modern usage, is a general name to cover the heraldic metals, colours, and furs. Legh has no such generic term, nor has he any consciousness of the common nature of the three classes. Ferne realizes their kinship, but lacks the generic name. "The Armories which are called *vera*," he says, "bee compofed either of mettell and colour, or els of fures." ⁸ Bolton uses the word tincture for both metals and colours, ⁹ but he keeps the furs apart; and when his Sir Eustace asks, "Are fures neither metal nor colour?" Sir Amias replies, "It is faid of the Planet Mercurie, that he is affected as the celestial bodies with whom hee is; good with the good, and bad with the bad: So (by a kinde of

⁵ Guillim, 1679, p. 36-7; 1724, p. 26. ⁶ *S. of N.*, IV, I; Wks, II, 321. ⁷ Shirley: *The Ball*, I, I. ⁸ Ferne, 163. ⁹ Bolton, 83.

Antithesis) the fures in Armes are as metall with colour, and of the nature of colour when the rest is metall." ¹⁰ Guillim, however, whose first edition appeared in the same year with Bolton's *Elements*, 1610, has grasped the new concept: "Those Escucheons are said to be of one Tincture," he says, "that have only some one Metal, Colour, or Furr, appearing in the Shield;" ¹¹ and elsewhere, he defines Tincture as the "Hue of Arms." ¹²

The three classes of Tinctures are the Metals, the Colours, and the Furs. Of the first two classes, Legh (1) **The Metals.** says: "Theare are nyne sondry fieldes, of the whyche, feuen of them bee termed (2) **The Colours.** Coloures, and two Mettalles. . . . The two Mettalles are Goulde and Siluer. And the feuen Colours, are Redd, lyght Blewe, Blacke, Greene, Violet, Orenge Tawney, and Murrey. But you must not so terme them, . . . for to call them by these names, it were shame amongst the Herehaughtes, and not worthye the name of blafonne." ¹³ The heraldic names for these nine tinctures are: Gold, *or*; silver, *argent*; red, *gules*; blue, *azure*; black *sable*; green, *vert*; violet or purple, *purpure*; orange tawny, *tenne*; and murrey, *sanguine*.

The names of the nine furs recognized by Legh, I quoted in Chapter I, when stating the content of his *Accedens*. For our study of Jonson, only (3) **The Furs.** two of these nine need be defined. "Ermyn," says Guillim, "is a Furr consisting of White distinguished with black Spots;" ¹⁴ or, in the words of Legh, "Argent powdered with Sable." ¹⁵ "Ermines," according to the same authors, "is Black powdered with White," ¹⁶ or "Sable poudred with Argent." ¹⁷ Jonson uses the latter fur in the arms of Sogliardo, "A chevron engrailed chequy, or, vert, and ermins." ¹⁸

¹⁰ Ibid, 171. ¹¹ Guillim, 1679, p. 35; 1724, p. 21. ¹² Guillim, 1679, p. 7. ¹³ Legh, Fol. 1 a. ¹⁴ Guillim, 1679, p. 14; 1724, p. 13. ¹⁵ Legh, Fol. 75 a. ¹⁶ Guillim, 1679, p. 15; 1724, p. 15. ¹⁷ Legh, Fol. 75 b. ¹⁸ E.M.O., III, I; Wks. I, 100.

The description of a coat of arms, phrased in heraldic language, is called the *blazon*. "Blazon," says Bolton, "is the description of Armes, and their appurtenances, by the receiued termes, or other apt expreffion of things by words."¹⁹ "To blaze, then," he continues, "is in Armory the fame, which in other faculties is to describe, and blazon and description are vniuocall."²⁰ The editor of the 1724 edition of Guillim thus defines the word: "Blazon properly signifies the Winding of an Horn; but to blazon a Coat, is to describe the Things borne in their proper Tinctures and Gestures."²¹ Guillim himself explains the process thus: "In the Blazoning of any Coat, you must evermore observe this special Rule. First to begin with the Field, and then proceed to the Blazon of the Charge, if any be. Moreover, if the Field be occupied with fundry Things, whether the same be of one or diuerse Kinds, you must first nominate that which lieth next and immediately upon the Field, and then Blazon that which is more remote from the same."²² Farther on, he adds: "In Blazoning of any Arms, you must . . . first exprefs the Metal, Colour, or Furr of the Field, saying 'He beareth *Or, Argent, Gules, &c.*' ; or thus, 'The Field is *Or, Argent, Gules, &c.*' . . . The first Metal, Colour, or Furr that you begin to Blazon withal, is always understood among our *English* Blazoners to be the Field."²³ Of the noun "blazon" and the verbs "to blazon" and "to blaze," Jonson makes frequent use, for example, in *The Staple of News*, IV, I,²⁴ and in *Every Man Out of His Humour*, III, I.²⁵

¹⁹ Bolton, 63. ²⁰ Ibid. 64. ²¹ Guillim, 1724, p. 1; marked as an insertion in that edition. ²² Guillim, 1679, p. 9; 1724, p. 2. ²³ Guillim, 1679, p. 37; 1724, p. 26. ²⁴ *S. of N.*, IV, I; Wks, II, 321-2. ²⁵ *E. M. O.*, III, I; Wks, I, 100.

One method of blazoning the Tinctures, I have already indicated, when I specified *or*, *argent*, *gules*, and the others as the heraldic names for gold, silver, red, and so forth. In Jonson's day, however, several other methods were recognized in England. Guillim applies "to each particular state of Gentry, a blazon Correspondent. As for example, to Gentlemen having no title of dignity, blazon by Metals and Colours; to persons ennobled by the Sovereign, by precious Stones; and to Emperours, Monarchs, Kings and Princes, blazon by Planets."²⁶ Guillim's three methods had been recognized before by Legh,²⁷ Ferne,²⁸ and, I doubt not, others. The several equivalents I tabulate as follows :—

Gold or Yellow	Or	Topaz	The Sun.
Silver or White	Argent	Pearl	The Moon.
Red	Gules	Ruby	Mars.
Blue	Azure	Sapphire	Jupiter.
Black	Sable	Diamond	Saturn.
Green	Vert	Emerald	Venus.
Violet or Purple	Purple	Amethyst	Mercury.
Orange tawny	Tenne	Jacinth	Dragon's Head.
Murrey	Sanguine	Sardonix	Dragon's Tail.

This table I have drawn up from Legh, but it differs in no essential from the table given by Guillim.²⁹ Ferne gives "fourteene severall maners of Blazon;"³⁰ and Peacham quotes from Ferne.³¹ Matthew Carter, however, in his *Honor Redivivus*, 1655, dismisses even the three-fold method with contempt. "This," he says, "is only a fantastick humor of our Nation, and for my part I shall avoid it as ridiculous, being no where in the world used but here; and not here by any judicious Herald."³² For

²⁶ Guillim, 1679, p. 9; 1724, p. 3. ²⁷ Legh, Fol. 1 a - 12 b. ²⁸ Ferne, 167. ²⁹ Guillim, 1679, p. 95; 1724, p. 111. ³⁰ Ferne, 167. ³¹ Peacham, 1634, p. 153 b-c; 1661, p. 168-9. ³² Carter, 8.

our purpose as students of Ben Jonson's plays, we need remember only the terms that occupy the second column, Or, Argent, Gules, and so forth. I have included the other systems, however, because the heraldic equivalence of *gold* and *or* and *the sun* is the basis of Jonson's allegory in the arms of the Lady Pecunia,³³ and because Mr. Fleay, by blazoning with planets, has transformed the arms of Crispinus in *The Poetaster* from "a bloody toe" to "a toe Mars," and thence to the name of the poet Marston.³⁴

Besides the names of the Tinctures, two rules for the blazon of Tinctures should be remembered. First, **Blazon of Tinctures** no tincture should be mentioned a second time by name. If any tincture recurs, in course of a blazon, it should be indicated by number. **Continued.** We should not say, "He beareth Argent, on a cross Vert five doves Argent," but rather, in the words of Legh, "Hee beareth Argent on a croffe verte v. doues of the firfte."³⁵

Secondly, an object in its natural tincture should be blazoned as "Proper." "In blazoning things born [e] in their natural colour . . .", says Guillim, "it sufficeth to say, He beareth this . . . Proper, without naming of any colour; for by Proper is evermore underftood his natural colours; and for the Sun and Stars, when they be of the colour of the metal Or, which is their natural colour, it sufficeth to say, a Sun, or Star, without adding the word Proper, or Or."³⁶ Of this rule, and especially of its final clause, I shall have more to say in Part II, in my notes on the *Staple of News*, IV, I.

³³ *S. of N.*, IV, I; *Wks.*, II, 321. ³⁴ "Marston as well as Crispinus is here indicated. *Mars* is red or bloody (compare *Mars ochre*) and *toen* is toes: together forming Marston."—F. G. Fleay, *Shakespeare Manual*, 1878, p. 312. See further, my discussion of *Poetaster*, II, I, *Wks.*, I, 218, in Part II of this monograph. ³⁵ Legh, Fol. 83 b. ³⁶ Guillim, 1679, p. 117; see also, 1679, p. 10, and 1724, p. 8.

Blazon, the description of arms by words, was not the only method of recording them in Jonson's day. The heralds in *Every Man Out of His Humour* aided Tricking. Sogliardo's memory with a *tricking* of his coat.³⁷ To trick a coat of arms is to make an outline drawing of the arms with pen and ink, indicating the tinctures by written words or abbreviations. Legh, Ferne, and Bolton, all indicate their tinctures thus. Other heraldic writers of the time leave their drawings unlettered, as if for hand illumination. In no instance have I found, in the illustrations of this period, the modern method of indicating tinctures by a system of dots and lines. Mr. Planché, in his *Pursuivant of Arms*, states that the earliest instance of the application of the modern method in England "is said" to have been the engraving of the death-warrant of Charles I.³⁸ If, as seems probable, the modern method of indicating tinctures was unknown to Jonson, then Dr. Winter's interpretation of the word "sanguine," *Staple of News*, II, II, 41, is ill founded.³⁹

The original method of tricking, Legh thus describes :

*"The way to vnderstande
"Trickyng.*

"The olde order in Tricking of all manner of Armes is to vse one letter for one worde. It is neceffarie for heroi-call Artificers. As by enfample. The Queenes maieftie of England beareth quarterly Fraunce and Englande. The firfte, B. Flowers de Leus O. The second, G. iii. Lyons passfauntes O. The thyrde as the seconde, the fowerth as the firfte.

³⁷ *E. M. O.*, III, I. Wks, I, 100. ³⁸ Planché, 39-40. ³⁹ In my own note on this passage, (*S. of N.*, II, I; Wks. II, 292; Winter's edition, II, II, 41), I shall discuss this matter further.

"O.	Or.	Yellow.
"A.	Argent.	whyghte.
"G.	Geules.	betweene Red and Tenne.
"B.	Azure.	bright Blewe.
"V.	Vert.	Greene.
"P.	Purpure.	Purple.
"E.	Ermyne.	white poudred with Blacke.
"Es.	Ermynes,	Blacke poudred white.
"T.	Tenne.	Orynge coloure.
"M.	Sangwine.	Murreye.
"Pr.	Proper coloure.	Naturall.
"BB.	Blewe.	Sad Blewe. " 40

The tricking of the arms of Sogliardo is, I believe, the only instance of tricking mentioned in Jonson's plays, unless we assume that it was a tricking that Crispinus, in *The Poetaster*, bore about him. ⁴¹ This play, however, contains an excellent example of the figurative use of the two terms, *to blazon* and *to trick*:—

"They [the actors] forget they are in the statute, the rascals ; they are blazoned there ; there they are tricked, they and their pedigrees ; they need no other heralds, I wiss." ⁴²

Concerning the composition of tinctures, the heraldic rule is this : A coat of arms must be so designed that colour shall not rest on colour, nor metal upon metal ; for it is "not lawfull," says Legh, "to beare colour vpon colour." ⁴³ In *Cynthia's Revels*, Jonson bases a jest upon this rule ; ⁴⁴ and in *The Staple of News*, he heightens the satire of one of his allegorical coats by twice violating the requirement :

She bears, an't please you, argent, three leeks vert,
In canton or, tasselled of the first. ⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Legh, last page, (unnumbered). ⁴¹ *Poetaster*, II, I ; Wks, I, 218. ⁴² *Poetaster*, I, I ; Wks, I, 212. ⁴³ Legh, Fol. 32 a. ⁴⁴ *Cynthia's Revels*, II, I ; Wks, I, 162.

From the Tinctures of the escutcheon, we pass now to its forms, its points, and its partitions. "What forme," asks Bolton, "hath the shield? . . . It hath as many as Caruers or Painters please, but the Shield. this triangular is become most vsuall." ⁴⁵ If, however, the bearer of the arms be a woman, then the coat must appear not on a shield but on a lozenge.

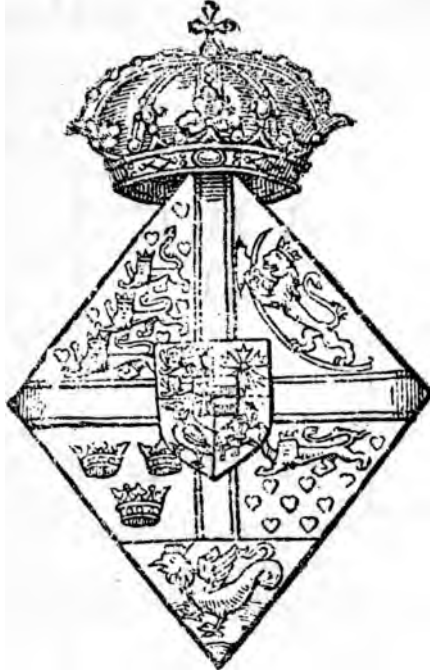


FIGURE 2.
ARMS OF ANNE, PRINCESS OF DENMARK, QUEEN OF JAMES I.
REPRODUCED FROM THE MIRROR OF MAJESTIE, 1618.

"At a chapter of the Heralds held at Broiderer's hall in London, in the fowerth year of Q. Eliz. it was agreed as followeth :

⁴⁵ *S. of N.*, IV, I; *Wks*, II, 322. ⁴⁶ Bolton, 64-65.

" 'That noe inheritrefse, maid, wife, nor widow, shall beare or caufe to be borne any creft or cognizances of her auncestor but as followeth. If she be unmarried, to beare, in her ringe, cognizances, or otherwise, the first coate of her auncestors in a lozenge; and during her widowhood to use the first coat of her husband impaled with the first coat of her auncestor, and if she be married with any that is no gentleman, then foe to be exempted from this conclusion.' " ⁴⁷

Thus, in a lozenge, I have seen the arms of the Queen of James I, in an emblem-book entitled *The Mirrour of*

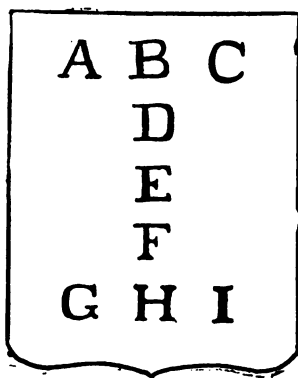


FIGURE 3.
THE NINE POINTS OF THE SHIELD.
REDRAWN FROM GUILLIM'S DISPLAY OF HERALDRY,
1679, p. 29; 1724, p. 6.

Maiestie, 1618; and thus, I trust, young Piedmantle, the pursuivant in the *Staple of News*, marshalled the arms of her Grace, Aurelia Clara Pecunia, the Infanta. ⁴⁸

⁴⁷ MSS. *Ashmole*: 737, quoted by Dallaway, p. 388. ⁴⁸ For further discussion of women's arms borne in a lozenge, see Legh, Fol. 97 b; Peacham, 1634, p. 185, and 1661, p. 222; and Guillim, 1679, p. 306-7, and 1724, p. 438-40.

“And nowe,” says Legh, “. . . I will teach you to knowe your Escoccheon, which containeth in it, nine sundrie pointes.”⁴⁹ This promise, by the aid of three diagrams and many words, Legh ultimately fulfills. I, however, shall quote the briefer explanation of Guillim:—

{ A B C D E F G H I }	Signifieth	Dexter Chief	{ }	Point." ⁵⁰
		Precife Middle Chief		
		Sinifter Chief		
		Honour		
		Fels		
		Nombril		
		Dexter Bafe		
		Exact Middle Bafe		
		Sinifter Bafe		

All this is sufficiently clear when stated, but the student should note one thing : that the dexter side of the shield is not the side at the right hand of the beholder, but at the right hand of the bearer. In other words, the upper dexter corner of this page is what we would call the upper left-hand corner.

“Now will I declare to you, of nine fondry particions. The first whereof is a partition frō the highest part of the
The Nine Escocheō, to the lowest pointe, as here ap-
Partitions:peareth. Ye shal say for the blasō therof,
 (1) **Per Pale.** ptie per Pale, argēt, & Geules.”⁵¹ This
 division, party per pale, does not occur in
 any of the coats blazoned by Jonson; but he uses the
 phrase in his description of the costume of personified
 “Accidence” in *Love’s Welcome at Welbeck*.⁵²

⁴⁹ Legh, Fol. 24 a. ⁵⁰ Guillim, 1679, p. 29; 1724, p. 6. ⁵¹ Legh, Fol. 25 a
⁵² Wks, III, 215.

"The secōd particion," says Legh, "is on this wife, and is not otherwise blazed. Hee beareth quarterly, Or and Geules."⁵³ Here the shield is divided (2) Quarterly. by a vertical and a horizontal line into four equal parts, of which the first and the fourth are of the tincture first named and the second and third quarters

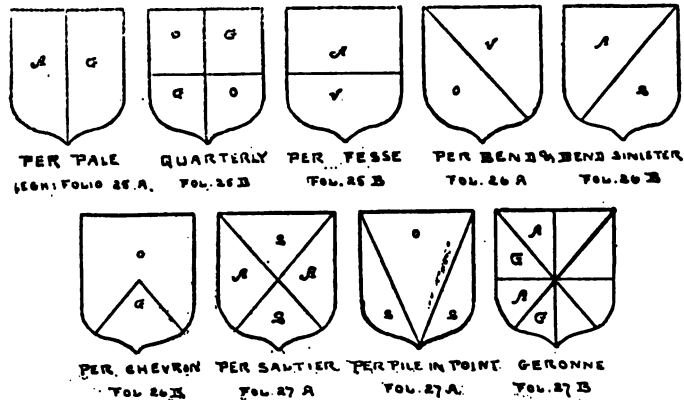


FIGURE 4.
THE NINE PARTITIONS

REDRAWN FROM LEGH'S ACCEDENS OF ARMORY, 1576.

are of the second tincture. In *Love's Welcome at Welbeck*, Jonson describes a coat as, "of azure and gules quarterly changed."⁵⁴

The next six partitions, namely, per fesse, per bend, per bend sinister, per chevron, per saltier, and per pile in point, I have included in the plate (Figure 4), but shall not here define, since Jonson or Gyrony. does not use them. The ninth partition, however, occurs in his most elaborate blazon. "The nynth particion," says Legh, "is parted per Geronne of eyght peeces, Argent, & Geules. It is very rare to haue

⁵³ Legh, Fol. 25 b. ⁵⁴ Wks, III, 215.

a particion of fo many coloures countered, & yet it is commended of myne aucthors, afore spoken of." ⁵⁵ This partition, Gyrony, is formed by first quartering the shield as described above, and then adding the diagonals, so that the field is divided into eight triangular pieces meeting at the center. This partition occurs in the arms of Sogliardo, in *Every Man Out of His Humour*, and contributes very materially to the intended effect—Fool's Motley. ⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Legh, Fol. 27 b. ⁵⁶ *E. M. O.*, III, I; Wks, I, 100.



FIGURE 5.
A LION RAMPANT.
REPRODUCED FROM LEGH, FOL. 44 A.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHARGES, OR BEARINGS.

FROM THE SHIELD, its tinctures, forms, points, and partitions, we come now to the insignia that may be placed upon it. "The Charge," says Guillim, "is that thing whatsoever that doth occupy the Field." ¹ "Those things that are born[e]," is the definition of Peacham. ² When a device is placed upon a shield, the field, or whatever the device rests upon, is said to be "charged" with it. Thus Puntarvolo accounts the shield of Sogliardo to be "a very fair coat, well charged, and full of armory;" ³ and Jonson, in describing the scene for his *Hue and Cry After Cupid*, mentions "two pilasters charged with spoils and trophies of Love." ⁴

Of these Charges, or Bearings as they are also called, there are three main groups:—

(1) The Honorable Ordinaries.

(2) The Subordinate Ordinaries, Subordinaries, or, as Legh calls them, the Ordinaries Generall.

(3) The Common Charges.

These three classes, I shall consider in the order named.

The Honorable Ordinaries are nine in number: (1) The Cross. (2) The Chief. (3) The Pale. (4) The Bend. (5) The Fesse. (6) Scocheon. (7) The Chevron. (8) The Saltier. (9) The Bar. This is the list as given by Legh, ⁵ by Guillim, ⁶ by Peacham, ⁷ and by Carter. ⁸

¹ Guillim, 1679, p. 37; 1724, p. 27. ² Peacham: *The Gentleman's Exercise*, 1634, p. 141; and *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1661, p. 434. ³ *E. M. O.*, III, I; Wks, I, 100. ⁴ Wks, III, 37. ⁵ Legh, Fol. 62 a-68 a. ⁶ Guillim, 1679, p. 38; 1724, p. 28. ⁷ Peacham, *G. E.*, 1634, p. 141; *C. G.*, 1661, p. 434. ⁸ Carter, 17.

The last three quote the list from Legh, and give him credit. Modern writers omit the Escutcheon, and sometimes also the Bar, and make up the number by adding the Bend Sinister,⁹ or the Pile and Quarter.¹⁰ We, however, purpose to follow Legh, and even from his list to consider only the four Honorable Ordinaries mentioned by Jonson, namely, the Cross, the Chief, the Chevron, and the Saltier.

"Although," says Legh, "the crosse of all other tōkes be not moſt aũcienteft, yet moſt chriſtienteft. Therefore I will begin at the ſame. Whereas there are diuers & ſōdry ſortes of Croſſes, and borne on ſondry waies: . . . I will begeben with the Croſſe cōmōli called S. Georges croſſe, which is thus blaſed. . . . The field Argent: a playne croſſe Geules. The fielde ſignifieth purenes of life. The croſſe ſignifieth the bludd that Chriſt ſhed for vs hys people of Englād. . . ." ¹¹ This, the simplest form of the cross, consists merely of two broad stripes, horizontal and vertical, intersecting at the center of the shield and extending to its perimeter. Spenser has aptly characterized it as "... a bloody Crosse that quartered all the field." ¹² Of the width of the cross, Legh says: "The content therof is the fifte part of the fielde, except it be charged, then it muſte containe the thirde parte." ¹³ Jonson mentions the St. George's cross in his *Prince Henry's Barriers*. ¹⁴

The Chief, according to Legh, "is the ſeconde of the honorable ordinaries, and before the paſſion of Chriſte, it was the firſte." ¹⁵ As a charge, it is a broad horizontal stripe occupying the upper third of the field. It occurs in the arms of Sogliardo, ¹⁶ and the phrase "in chief" occurs in the arms of Crispinus. ¹⁷

⁹ Boutell & Aveling, 20. ¹⁰ Planché, 45. ¹¹ Legh, 27 b. ¹² *Faerie Queen*, II, I, xviii. ¹³ Legh, Fol. 62 a. ¹⁴ Wks, III, 67. ¹⁵ Legh, Fol. 62 a. ¹⁶ *E. M. O.*, III, I; Wks, I, 100. ¹⁷ *Poetaster*, II, I; Wks, I, 218.

"In chief," however, has reference to the position of the charge, as occupying the "chief point" of the shield, not to its being borne *on* a chief.

The Chevron consists of two broad stripes issuing from the sides of the shield near the bottom, i. e. from the dexter and sinister bases, and meeting like an inverted letter "V" at the center of the shield. In width, unless it be charged, it occupies one-fifth of the field.¹⁸ Jonson uses the word incidentally in his *Masque of Blackness*,¹⁹ and in his *Masque of Hymen*; ²⁰ but in its strictly heraldic sense, he uses it only in the arms of Sogliardo.²¹

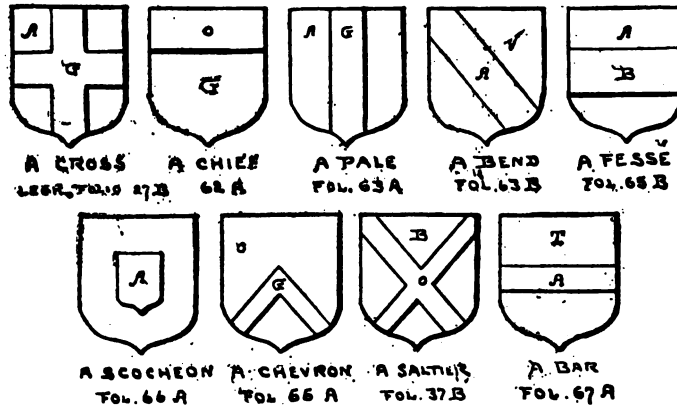


FIGURE 6.
THE NINE HONORABLE ORDINARIES.
REDRAWN FROM LEGH'S ACCEDENS OF ARMORY, 1576.

The Saltier, or Saltire, sometimes called the St. Andrew's Cross, differs from the St. George's Cross only in that it lies upon the field diagonally,

(8) **The Saltier.** like the letter "X". This honorable ordinary, according to Legh, "muft cõteine the fifth parte

¹⁸ Legh, Fol. 66 a. ¹⁹ Wks, III, 4. ²⁰ Wks, III, 29. ²¹ E. M. O., III, I; Wks, I, 100.

of the field except it bee charged with anye thinge, then shall it containe the thirde parte of the Scocheon." ²² Legh and Guillim do not identify the Saltier with the St. Andrew's Cross. Carter, however, paraphrases Guillim's description of the Saltier ²³ and then adds, "in the nature of that which we usually call a St. Andrews Crosse." ²⁴ Jonson nowhere mentions the Saltier; but as he speaks of the St. Andrew's Cross, in the *Masque of the Metamorphosed Gipsies*, ²⁵ I have thought better to include it.

The Sudordinaries, or "Ordinaries Generall," according to Legh, are (1) the Geronne, or Gyron, (2) the Orle, (3) the Pyle, (4) the Quarter, (5) the Quarter Sinister, (6) the Canton, (7) the Canton Sinister, (8) Flasques, and (9) Voyders. ²⁶ Of these, Jonson mentions only one, the Canton, a rectangular figure occupying the upper left-hand corner of the shield, i. e. the dexter chief, and filling usually about one third of the chief. ²⁷ This charge appears in the Welsh coat of the Lady Pecunia. ²⁸ The name of one other Subordinary, the Pyle, occurs in the opening scene of *Bartholomew Fair*, ²⁹ but in a sense far from heraldic. The phrase is "cross and pile,"—"heads and tails" as we would say. But although one side of the coin bore a "cross" the other side did not bear a "pile." The term is derived, rather, from the small iron pile, or pillar, on which the reverse of the coin was laid to be stamped.

²² Legh, Fol. 67 a. ²³ Guillim, 1679, p. 63; 1724, p. 58-60. ²⁴ Carter 38. ²⁵ Wks, III, 141. ²⁶ Legh, Fol. 68 a - 70 b. ²⁷ "A Canton is an Ordinary framed of two streight Lines, the One drawn perpendicularly from the Chief, and the other transverse from the Side of the Escutcheon, and meeting therewith in a Right Angle, near to the Corner of the Escutcheon."—Guillim, 1724, p. 45; corrected from 1679, p. 51. ²⁸ *S. of N.*, IV, I; Wks, II, 322. ²⁹ *Bartholomew Fair*, I, I; Wks, II, 153.

Leaving now the Honorable Ordinaries and the Ordinaries Generall, we come to the Common Charges. This group, to quote the words of Legh, includes "all maner of thinges quick or dead." ³⁰ Jonson, however, contents himself with the following fifteen: the Annulet, the Bezant, the Boar, the Boar's Head, the Dragon, the Eagle, the Fleur-de-lis, the Greyhound, the Label, the Leek, the Lion, the Plate, the Rose, the Star, the Sun. These fifteen, for convenience, I shall consider in alphabetical order.

The Annulet, according to Legh, "is a rynge, fuche as men weare on their fingers." ³¹ Elsewhere, he says that annulets "are supposed to bee the ringes of mayle, whiche was an armour of defence longe before hardnes of Steele." ³² A single annulet standing "on the middell of the chiefe," ³³ was the "difference of a fifth brother;" ³⁴ but the two annulets in Sogliardo's coat ³⁵ can have no such meaning. Jonson's intent appears in the remark of Carlo:

Car. How's that? on a chief argent?
Sog. [reads.] "On a chief argent, a boar's head proper, between two ann'lets sable."

Car. 'Slud, it's a hog's cheek and puddings in a pewter field, this! ³⁵

The Bezant is one of a group of round devices known collectively as the Rundels, or Roundels. The roundels, in the words of Legh, "as they differ in colour, so haue they fondy names." ³⁶ The roundel *or* is called a bezant, the roundel *argent*, a plate; and so on. ³⁷ Jonson mentions bezants in one of the coats of the Lady Pecunia, ³⁸

³⁰ Legh, Fol. 83 b. ³¹ Legh, Fol. 109 a. ³² 105 a. ³³ 110 b. ³⁴ See under Differences, beyond. ³⁵ *E. M.O.*, III, I; *Wks*, I, 100. ³⁶ Legh, Fol. 86 b. ³⁷ 87 a - 88 b. ³⁸ *S. of N.*, IV, I; *Wks*, II, 322.

where the charge is especially appropriate because, according to Legh, a bezant is a "lumpe of gold." ³⁹

The Boar, of course, is merely the wild beast of that name, regularly blazoned passant, i. e. walking. ⁴⁰ Jonson, with satiric intent, gives Sogliardo as a crest "a boar without a head, *rampant*." ⁴¹

The Boar's Head, likewise, requires no explanation. It is a charge in good repute in heraldry, and in no wise invited Carlo's satirical interpretation quoted above. ⁴²

The Dragon is a fabulous monster represented in heraldry "with wings endorsed," i. e. back to back, "four legs, and a serpent-like tail." ⁴³ All the Tudor sovereigns bore a dragon gules as one of their supporters; ⁴⁴ and this may be Jonson's allusion in *A Tale of a Tub*. ⁴⁵

The Eagle of heraldry is a somewhat conventionalized king of birds, drawn usually with wings displayed. The double-headed eagle is not infrequent. Sixteenth century writers seem to have believed that the Roman Eagles were in the nature of heraldic bearings, and they ascribe to Julius Cæsar the coat: "Or, an Eagle displayed with ii heddes Sable." ⁴⁶ Jonson, in *The Poetaster*, makes a similar assumption: "Does not Cæsar give the Eagle?" ⁴⁷ Here the reference is to Augustus Cæsar; but the lack of historical perspective is as marked in Jonson as in Legh.

The Fleur-de-lis of heraldry is even more conventionalized than the eagle. I shall not venture to describe this lily, but shall rather rely upon a shield redrawn from Legh. (Figure 9.) "There can be little doubt that the kings of France, from Clovis downwards, bore a field covered with golden lilies, and that Charles VI reduced the number to three. . . . Edward III quartered the

³⁹ Legh, Fol. 87 a. ⁴⁰ See Figure 11 and Figure 14. ⁴¹ *E. M. O.*, III, I; Wks, I, 100. ⁴² Same passage. ⁴³ Boutell & Aveling, 139. ⁴⁴ Ibid, 318. See my note on *A Tale of a Tub*, I, III, in Part II of this monograph. ⁴⁵ *Tale of a Tub*, I, III; Wks, II, 445. ⁴⁶ Legh, Fol. 23, a. ⁴⁷ *Poetaster*, V, I; Wks, I, 253.

French shield, *semée de lis*, on his great seal and in his arms. The Fleurs-de-lis were removed from the English shield in 1801."⁴⁸ Elizabeth, James, and Charles, all bore the French lilies in their arms; but this, I take it, is not the reason why Jonson, especially in his masques and entertainments, mentions them so often. His lilies appear rather out of compliment to Henrietta Maria, sister to Louis XIII, and queen of Charles I.⁴⁹

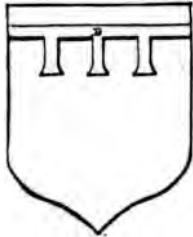


FIG. 7.

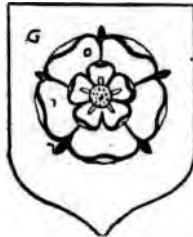


FIG. 8.

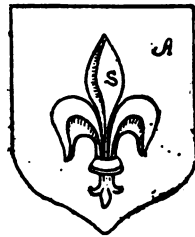


FIG. 9.

LABEL, ROSE, AND FLEUR-DE-LIS.
REDRAWN FROM LEGH'S ACCEDENS OF ARMORY, 1576.

The Greyhound of heraldry is regularly depicted as passant. All the Tudor sovereigns except Edward VI, seem to have used the greyhound as one of the supporters of the royal arms, a greyhound argent with a lion or, or a dragon gules.⁵⁰ This may be Jonson's reference in *A Tale of a Tub*.⁵¹

The Label consists of a very narrow horizontal stripe, usually borne in chief, from which hang three or more pendants or ribands. (See Figure 7). When used as a difference, or, to be more exact, as a mark of cadency, it indicates the eldest son.⁵² Such, however, is not its use in Jonson. Legh objects to the name "labell", preferring to say, "Hee beareth Argent, a fyle with iij. Lambeaux Azure;" and he asks, "whether it be better faide, a fyle with iij tōgues, or a tōgue of three pointes."

⁴⁸ B. & A, 149. ⁴⁹ Wks, III, 198, 203, 221. ⁵⁰ B. & A, 318; see my note on *A Tale of a Tub*, I, III, in Part II of this monograph. ⁵¹ *Tale of a Tub*, I, III; Wks, II, 445. ⁵² Legh, Fol. 107 a.

He quotes one authority, Alciatus, however, who "writeth that they are playtes or ployts of garments."⁵³ This may explain the meaning of the word "labels" as twice used by Jonson to describe some portion of the costume worn in the *Masque of Hymen*;⁵⁴ but if Jonson anywhere uses the word in its heraldic sense, it can only be in the passage, "A pair of twelve-penny broad ribands laid out like labels."⁵⁵

The **Leek** is a culinary herb allied to the onion; but whether it be borne in heraldry save by the Lady Pecunia, I know not. Jonson blazons it as "vert, . . . tasselled argent;"⁵⁶ but although my authorities display pictures of heraldic turnips and other vegetables,⁵⁷ I am unable to hand you an heraldic leek. Tradition, however, asserts that the Leek was adopted as the national badge of the Welsh by direction of St. David, in honor of a victory won by King Arthur over the Saxons.⁵⁸ There can be no doubt that the leek was the subject of many an Elizabethan jest upon the Welshmen.

The **Lion** of heraldry, a somewhat conventionalized lion, appears in various named positions. A lion rampant, is a lion erect on his hind legs, with tail and fore paws elevated, facing the dexter chief point. (Figure 5, page 25). Scott's *Marmion* recalls to us

. . . the dazzling field
Where, in proud Scotland's royal shield,
The ruddy lion ramp'd in gold.⁵⁹

A lion passant is a lion walking toward the dexter side, with three paws on the ground, the right fore-paw raised, and the head in profile. Spenser tells of a

⁵³ Same reference. ⁵⁴ *Wks*, III, 29. ⁵⁵ *S. of N.*, I, II; *Wks*, II, 288. ⁵⁶ *S. of N.*, IV, I; *Wks*, II, 322. ⁵⁷ *Guillim*, 1679, p. 113, 103-6; 1724, p. 140, 122-26. ⁵⁸ *Century Dictionary*. ⁵⁹ *Marmion*, IV, xxviii.

... goodly shield,
That bore a Lion passant in a golden field. ⁶⁰

The positions "rampant gardant" and "passant gardant" differ from rampant and passant respectively, in that the face of the lion is turned to the spectator. Similarly, "rampant regardant" and "passant regardant" depict the lion as looking back over his shoulder. Mr. Planché makes gardant and regardant synonymous,—full-faced; ⁶¹ Legh, however, whose illustrations and text on this point I reproduce farther on in Figure 16, insists on the distinction. ⁶² Jonson makes no use of lions in his heraldic passages; but he uses the terms rampant, passant, gardant, regardant, in *Cynthia's Revels*, ⁶³ in *Bartholomew Fair*, ⁶⁴ in blazoning the headless crest of Sogliardo, ⁶⁵ and elsewhere.

The Plate is, like the Bezant, a Roundel; in this case, a roundel argent. ⁶⁶ Jonson mentions plates, perhaps with an intent to pun, in the arms of Sogliardo. ⁶⁷

The Rose of heraldry appears in various conventional forms, most frequently as a cinquefoil. I present a redrawing of the illustration from Legh. ⁶⁸ (Figure 8, above). Jonson's most frequent reference is to the "blended rose," which was one of the badges of the Tudor sovereigns. ⁶⁹

The Roundels, so far as they appear in Jonson, I have discussed above, under the heads of Plates and Bezants.

The Star in heraldry has regularly six wavy points or rays. So Legh depicts it. ⁷⁰ Our five-pointed star is called in heraldry a Mullet. In his *Masque of Hymen*,

⁶⁰ *Faerie Queen*, III, I, iv. ⁶¹ Planché, 201-2. ⁶² Legh, Fol. 48 a. ⁶³ *Cynthia's Revels*, III, III; Wks, I, 170. ⁶⁴ *Bartholomew Fair*, Induction; Wks, II, 146. ⁶⁵ *E. M. O.*, III, I; Wks, I, 100. ⁶⁶ Legh, Fol. 87 a. ⁶⁷ *E. M. O.*, III, I; Wks, I, 100. ⁶⁸ Legh, Fol. 99 b. ⁶⁹ Wks, III, 69, 221; See under "Badges." ⁷⁰ Legh, Fol. 59 a.

Jonson describes Reason's garments as "blue . . . semined with stars." ⁷¹ "Semined," in this passage is equivalent to the more technical "semée," meaning sown, powdered.

The Sun appears in heraldry as a human face surrounded with rays. Jonson blazons it as "proper, beamy twelve of the second," ⁷² that is, gold with twelve gold rays. Concerning the improper use of "proper" in this blazon, see my note on this passage in Part II. With this note, I place, as Figure 22, a picture of an heraldic Sun, reproduced from Legh. ⁷³

This concludes our list of Common Charges named by Jonson; but before we close our discussion of charges, we must notice one further technical term occasionally used by Jonson,—the word "Difference." Broadly considered, a Difference is some modification of the family coat for the purpose of distinguishing the several sons or younger branches, or some feudal ally, from the head of the family. If the difference denote a blood relationship, it is called, preferably, a "mark of cadency." ⁷⁴ Legh, however, calls these marks the "nyne differences for brethren," and names, like modern authorities, the following list: (1) the label, (2) the crescent, (3) the mullet, (4) the martelet, (5) the annulet, (6) the fleur-de-lis, (7) the rose, (8) the cross moline, and (9) the double quatrefoil. ⁷⁵ These marks, during the life-time of a father, distinguish the arms of his sons in the order named. This, however, is not the sole heraldic function of these particular charges, and is in no case the purpose for which Jonson uses them. When Jonson speaks of "Differences," moreover, he uses the term not as a synonym for "Marks of Cadency," but in the broader sense of any distinguishing mark. Thus

⁷¹ Wks, III, 22. ⁷² *S. of N.*, IV, I; Wks, II, 321. ⁷³ Legh, Fol. 58 b. ⁷⁴ B. & A., 234. ⁷⁵ Legh, Fol. 107 a - 110 b; B. & A., 255.

Shakspeare uses it in *Much Ado About Nothing*, "Let him bear it for a difference between himself and his horse," ⁷⁶ and again in *Hamlet*, "O, you must wear your rue with a difference." ⁷⁷ Similarly, in this very general sense, Jonson uses the word "difference" in the *Masque of Blackness*, ⁷⁸ and in Love's Welcome at *Bolsover*. ⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *Much Ado*, I, I. ⁷⁷ *Hamlet*, IV, II. ⁷⁸ *Wks*, III, 4. ⁷⁹ *Wks*, III, 221.



CHAPTER IV.

THE MARSHALLING OF ARMS.

THE MARSHALLING OF ARMS is the correct combination of two or more coats as a single Achievement, to indicate the several lines of descent that unite in the person of the bearer. In the words of Guillim, "Marfhalting, as it concerns Coat-Armours, . . . is an orderly difpofing of fundry Coat-Armours pertaining to diftinct Families, and of their contingent Ornaments, with their Parts and Appurtenances in their proper places."¹

From these definitions, the importance of Marshalling, in any discussion of the heraldry of Jonson's day, must be evident. To commemorate family alliances was, and is, one of the chief functions of armorial insignia. These alliances were indicated by the marshalling of arms. To ignore Marshalling, therefore, would be not merely to miss one of the chief uses of the "Hand-maid of History," but utterly to miscalculate the importance of the entire subject of Heraldry. Notwithstanding the fact that no instance of marshalled coats occurs in Jonson, we are bound to consider Marshalling in this study, if only for the sake of breadth of view.

Because of the importance of this subject, I am the more sorry that the available information is so inadequate. I know what modern writers say of Marshalling; I know what Legh and Guillim and their contemporaries wrote. I have the rules that I shall presently quote to you from Robert Glover, who was Somerset herald from 1571 to

¹ Guillim, 1724, p. 417.

1588; and I have applied these rules, from generation to generation, to the coats and pedigrees recorded in various heraldic Visitations of the time. I think that I understand the usual application of these rules. But every now and then I come upon an exception—a case in which a coat that I was expecting in the sixth quarter turns up in the fifth—and then I wonder whether I really know anything about the subject.

In Marhalling, the two rules of most frequent application are as follows:—

(1) On marriage with a woman not an heiress, a man may bear her arms on his shield beside his own, his on the dexter, hers on the sinister side. This is called “party per pale, Baron and Femme.” The arrangement, however, continues only for their lifetime; their heirs inherit but the paternal coat.

(2) If, however, the wife should be an heiress, that is, if her father were without an heir male to perpetuate the name, then if she should have male issue, her husband would no longer impale her arms, but would bear them on the center of his own shield on an “escutcheon of pretense;” and their heirs, inheriting both his coat and hers, would marshall the coats anew, placing the father’s coat in the first and fourth quarters, i. e. in the upper dexter and lower sinister quarters, and the mother’s coat in the second and third.

These are, in substance, the rules of marshalling laid down by Legh;² but for the sake of clearness, I shall restate them in the words of Robert Glover, who was Somerset herald from 1571 to 1588³:—

“If any man marrye an inheritor or coheir apparent to her father, the fame may bear his wife’s father’s arms

² Legh, Fol. 25 a, b. ³ *MS. Glover, Coll. Arm., L. xv. p. 36*, quoted by Dallaway, 370.

paley joined to his owne without difference, and if the wife's father dye without iffue male lawfully begotten, then it shall be lawful for the partye marrying the heire generall or coheir, havinge iffue of her bodye, to place her armes within an inefcocheon, within the middle of his whole armes, . . . and the heire of theyr two bodyes shall quarter the same inefcocheon with his father's armes, and not otherweys, and so to the heires of his bodye for ever.

"If a man bearing armes marrye an inheritrix whose progenitors have, before that time, married with other inheritrixes by whom both landes and armes have descended, the father of his wife having no son legitimate, the same man so marrying may and shall lawfully bear her father's and mother's armes in so large and ample manner as any of them before that time did bear, or any of her progenitors. . . ."³

A few concrete examples should make the practical workings of these rules more evident; and for these examples I have resorted to "The Visitation of Yorkshire made in the years 1584/5 by Robert Glover, Somerset herald; to which is added the subsequent Visitation made in 1612 by Richard St. George, Norroy king of arms. . . . Edited by Joseph Foster. . . . 1875."

According to this record,⁴ Clapham of Beamsley bore: 1st quarter, Clapham; 2d quarter, Thornton; 3d quarter, Sutton; 4th quarter, Otterburne; 5th quarter, Maleverer; 6th quarter, Moore. Let us examine the genealogy of the family, and see whether it will account for these six quarters and their arrangement. If so, we shall have an excellent illustration of the Marshalling of Arms.

According to Glover's record aforesaid, William Clapham married Armiger, daughter and co-heir of Sir

⁴ Glover, 12.

George Thornton, knt. 5 Edw. I. The said William Clapham, according to the laws of marshalling, would bear the arms of Thornton over his own upon an escutcheon of pretense; and his son, John Clapham would bear as his arms, 1st and 4th quarters, Clapham, 2d and 3d quarters Thornton.

This John Clapham, like his father, had the good fortune to marry an heiress, Josyan, daughter and co-heir of Sir Alexander Sutton, knt. 1 Edw. II. John, therefore, would regularly bear the quartered arms of Clapham and Thornton with the addition of Sutton in pretense; and his son William Clapham, according to the laws of marshalling, would bear: 1st and 4th quarters, Clapham; 2d quarter, Thornton; 3d quarter, Sutton.

This son, William Clapham, married Cicely, daughter and co-heir of Sir Raphe Otterburne, knt. 2 Edw. III. He, then, would have borne the arms of Otterburne in pretense over the quartered coat of Clapham, Thornton, and Sutton. His son William Clapham would insert the maternal arms in the fourth quarter, and would transmit to his descendants: 1st quarter, Clapham; 2d quarter, Thornton; 3d quarter, Sutton; 4th quarter, Otterburne.

Now Thomas Clapham, grandson of the William last named, married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of William Moore. This marriage brought in not one coat, but two; for Elizabeth's father had married Thomasin, daughter and co-heir of Peter Maleverer of Beamsley, so that Elizabeth would rightfully inherit the arms of both Moore and Maleverer. If Elizabeth gave precedence to her father's coat, her own arms would be: 1st and 4th quarters, Moore; 2d and 3d quarters, Maleverer. Her husband, Thomas Clapham, would bear this quartered shield in pretense over the quartered arms of Clapham, Thornton, Sutton, and Otterburne; and the descendants

of Thomas and Elizabeth would bear: (1) Clapham; (2) Thornton; (3) Sutton; (4) Otterburne; (5) Moore; (6) Maleverer.

For nine generations, down to the Visitation of 1612, the house of Clapham had quartered these six coats. If we have correctly applied the laws of marshalling, then we should expect the grouping last described to be identical with that recorded in the heraldic visitation. On comparison, we find that the arrangement we have built up differs from the recorded grouping in one particular: the positions of the arms of Moore and Maleverer are interchanged. The arms recorded in the Visitation have Maleverer in the 5th quarter and Moore in the 6th. Why this is so I do not pretend to say; but similar cases are not infrequent. Perhaps Maleverer was accounted the more important coat. Aside from this one point, however, the arms and pedigree of Clapham of Beamsley provide an excellent illustration of the usual laws of marshalling.

Occasionally, when marriage with an heiress brought in a coat already quartered, this quartered coat was kept intact, not separated as in the Clapham arms. An instance of this kind, occurs in the arms of Dransfield of Stubbs Walden.⁵ John Fitz-Randolph married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Thomas, Lord Scrope. Their son, Ranulph Fitz-Randolph, would regularly bear, 1st and 4th quarters, Fitz-Randolph; 2d and 3d quarters, Scrope. So would Ranulph's daughter and co-heiress, Alice. She married Charles Dransfield, who presumably bore her quartered shield in pretense. The children of this marriage of course quartered the arms of Dransfield, Fitz-Randolph, and Scrope. According to the Clapham example, we would expect these coats to be marshalled,

⁵ Glover, 37.

1st and 4th quarters, Dransfield; 2d quarter, Fitz-Randolph; 3d quarter, Scrope. Instead, we find that the Fitz-Randolph-Scrope arms were kept together; and when the descendants of Charles and Alice submitted their family arms to the visiting herald, it was: 1st and 4th quarters, Dransfield; 2d and 3d quarters, quarterly, (1) & (4) Fitz-Randolph, (2) & (3) Scrope. I have noted this instance, by no means unique, because it conforms to the rules of marshalling laid down by a certain modern authority.⁶ But in Glover's Visitation, and in such other visitations of the time as I have examined, the quarters are rarely quartered, and a quartered coat when joined to another is disintegrated and loses its identity. I think that we may safely take the marshalling of the Clapham coat as typical.⁷

As a third illustration from Glover, I will quote from the arms and pedigrees of two allied families, Borough of Borough,⁸ and Lawson of Brough⁹ :—

⁶ B. & A., 225 et seq. ⁷ In arriving at this conclusion, I have been at some pains to work out, from generation to generation, a large number of pedigrees and marshalled coats recorded in Glover's *Visitation of Yorkshire*.

⁸ Glover, 3. ⁹ Ibid, 254.

BOROUGH OF BOROUGH.

Arms:—1st and 4th, Argent, on a saltire sable, five swans of the field; 2d and 3d, [Argent], a fesse engrayled between six fleurs-de-lis [sable].

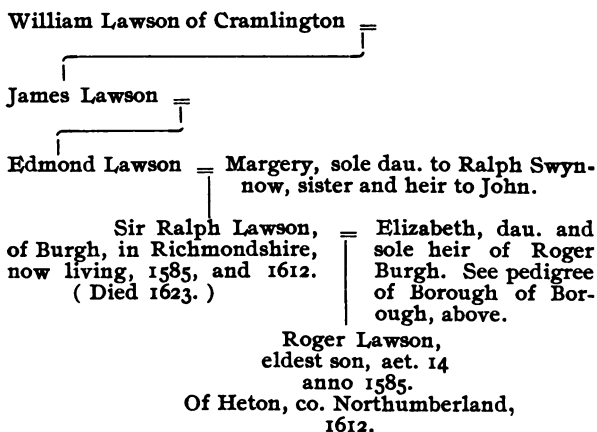
Elias de Richmond =
Richard Richmond = Elizabeth, dau. and sole heir
to Wm. Burgh.
John, called himself Burgh a° 1412 =
William Burgh, a° 1442 =
William Borough of Borough =
George Borough =
Anthony Borough =
Roger Borough =
Elizabeth, mar. to Sir Raphe Lawson.

LAWSON OF BROUGH.

Arms;—Quarterly. 1 and 4. Argent, a chevron between three martlets sable, *Lawson*. 2. Barry of 6 argent and azure, in chief 3 annulets sable, *Cramlington*. 3. Argent, 3 boars passant sable, *Swynnow*. On an inescutcheon, quarterly, — 1 and 4. Argent, on a saltier sable, 5 swans of the field, *Burgh*. 2 and 3. Argent, a fesse engrailed between 6 fleurs-de-lis sa., *Richmond*.

Crest:—On a torse, argent and sable, two arms couped at the elbow proper, vested, holding a ring or, set with a diamond argent, within the ring a sun of the 3d.

Another Shield:—Quarterly, 1st and 6th, *Lawson*. 2d, *Cramlington*; 3d, *Swynnow*; 4th, *Burgh*; 5th, *Richmond*.



Here, recorded by heralds of Ben Jonson's day, we have, with these two pedigrees, the blazon of three coats of arms that illustrate excellently the laws of marshalling. The first shield (See Figure 10) shows how the descendants of Richard Richmond and Elizabeth Burgh quartered the arms of Burgh and Richmond, giving precedence to the coat of Burgh and adopting Burgh as the family name. The second shield (Figure 11) shows the quartered arms which Sir Ralph Lawson inherited from his ancestors, and, over these, in pretense, the Burgh-Richmond arms which he acquired by marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir to Roger Burgh. The third shield (Figure 12) shows the manner in which their eldest son, Roger Lawson, marshalled, quarterly of six, the five coats of Lawson and Burgh.

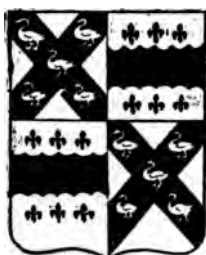


FIG. 10.

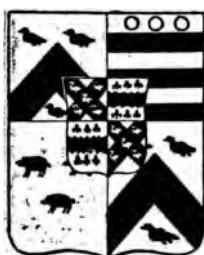


FIG. 11.

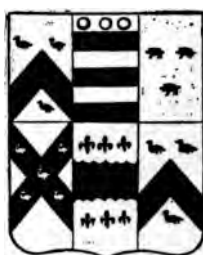


FIG. 12.

GROUP TO ILLUSTRATE THE LAWS OF MARSHALLING.
DRAWN FROM BLAZONS IN GLOVER'S VISITATION OF YORKSHIRE.

As a final illustration of the laws of marshalling, I shall now construct, from the inadequate and ambiguous evidence supplied by Jonson, a pedigree and a corresponding marshalled coat for her Grace, Aurelia Clara Pecunia, the Infanta. The evidence from which we must reconstruct her pedigree is to be found in *The Staple of News* in the three following passages :—

(1) Act I, scene II ; Works, II, 288. Winter's edition, Act I, scene VI, lines 39-46.

(2) Act II, scene I ; Works, II, 292. Winter's edition Act II, scene II, lines 11-14.

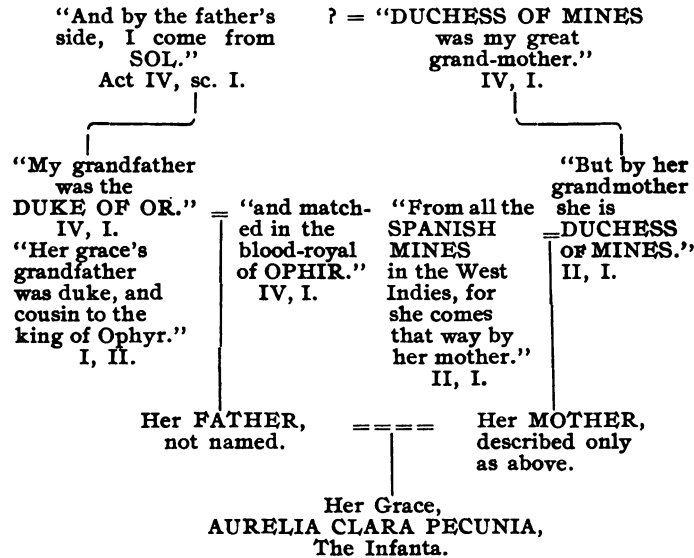
(3) Act IV, scene I ; Works, II, 321. Winter's edition, Act IIIJ, scene IV, lines 5-30.

On one of the several possible interpretations of these passages, I base the following pedigree :—

THE PEDIGREE

(according to one possible interpretation)

OF HER GRACE, AURELIA CLARA PECUNIA,
THE INFANTA.



On a basis of this more or less probable pedigree, let us now trace the evolution of Pecunia's family coat. On her father's side, we know that her grandfather, the

Duke of Or, bore "Azure, a sun proper beamy twelve of the second." From the charge, we may infer either that the Duke of Or was identical with the "Sol" mentioned in the previous line of the text, or else that the Duke of Or was a descendant of Sol. In the pedigree, I have followed the latter interpretation. In either case, the Duke of Or bore "Azure, a sun, etc." as aforesaid. He bore also, says Lady Pecunia, a coat containing bezants. Where did he get it? Possibly he inherited it; but we have no mention of earlier family alliances. Why not assume that he bore it in pretense, by virtue of his match "in the blood-royal of Ophir"? Bezants are lumps of gold, the value whereof, says Legh, is 3750 pounds sterling, and they took their name in heraldry from the one hundred and twenty besants of gold which King Hiram, in exchange for twenty cities, gave to Solomon.¹⁰ Surely, then, bezants are a charge appropriate for the royal line of Ophir. If we accept this hypothesis, then Pecunia's father would bear, before his marriage, Quarterly, 1st and 4th quarters, Azure, a sun proper beamy twelve of the second. 2d and 3d quarters, a coat containing bezants. So, then, we have the paternal arms settled.

On the maternal side, four lines are named, each, presumably, possessed of a coat of arms. These lines are: the Spanish mines of Potosi in the West Indies, the mines of Hungary, the mines of Barbary, and the Welsh mine. From the passage from Act II, scene I, quoted in the pedigree above, we may assign the arms of the Spanish mines to Pecunia's maternal grandfather; and the coats of the other three to her maternal grandmother and great grandmother. By Pecunia's mother, these four coats would be marshalled in a lozenge, in whatever order gave precedence to the most important

¹⁰ Legh, Fol. 87 a.

coat. Since this reconstruction is, except for the principles illustrated, a matter of guess-work, let us freely assume that Pecunia's mother marshalled her arms as follows: 1st quarter, the Spanish mines; 2d quarter, the mines of Hungary; 3d quarter, the mines of Barbary; 4th quarter, the Welsh mine. Of these four coats, we know the blazon only of the last: "Argent, three leeks vert, in canton or, tasselled of the first."

We have now built up, according to the rules of marshalling of Jonson's day, a hypothetical coat for Pecunia's father and another for Pecunia's mother. After their marriage, the father would bear his wife's arms in pretense over his own. Their heir, the Lady Pecunia, would marshal their combined coats in a lozenge in the following order:—

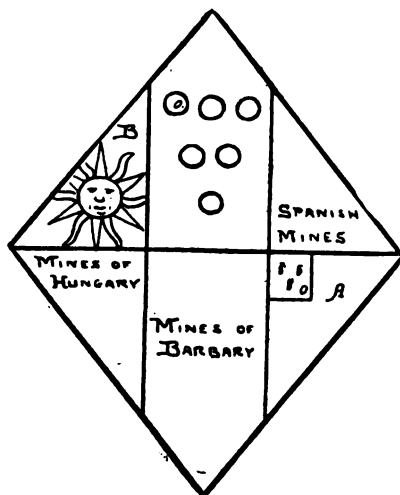


FIGURE 13.

Her Grace, Aurelia Clara Pecunia, the Infanta, beareth on a Lozenge, Quarterly of Six: 1st quarter, Azure, a sun proper beamy twelve of the second;

DUCHY OF OR. 2d quarter, . . . Bezants; OPHIR. 3d quarter, . . . the SPANISH MINES. 4th quarter, . . . the MINES OF HUNGARY. 5th quarter, . . . the MINES OF BARBARY. 6th quarter, Argent, three leeks vert, in canton or, tasselled of the first; the WELSH MINE.

Now that we have reconstructed the pedigree and arms of the Lady Pecunia, the question naturally arises whether what we have thus built up actually appeared as a "property" on Jonson's stage. That a stage-pedigree was used—gorgeous beyond words—I have no doubt; But I do not think that the arms accompanying it were marshalled. Arms, evidently, were the embellishment of this genealogical tree; but, if I rightly understand the passage, the arms were not grouped in a single shield or lozenge, but were placed, each coat on a separate shield each pendant from the appropriate branch. But, as I have said before, I have not reconstructed Pecunia's arms and pedigree for their own sake. What I have endeavored to present is rather some knowledge of the theory and practice of Marshalling, that subject which formed so important a division of the science of Heraldry in Jonson's day.



CHAPTER V.

THE ACCESSORIES, AND THE COMPLETE ACHIEVEMENT.



OUR DISCUSSION of the heraldry of Jonson's day has thus far been limited to the heraldic Shield. We have described its tinctures, forms, points, and partitions; the charges that may be placed upon it; and the manner of marshalling several coats upon one shield. Our next topic, the fourth, is The Accessories, those heraldic insignia which, grouped about the shield, go with it to constitute a Complete Achievement.

An Achievement, according to Legh, "is the armes of euery gentleman, well marshalled, with supporters, helme, wreathe, and creft, with mantelles, and the woorde, the whiche of Herehaughtes is properly called blazonne, heaume, and timber." ¹ Of complete achievements, all reproduced from Legh, this book contains three excellent illustrations: the Frontispiece, and Figures 14 and 15 in this chapter.

The Crest is a figure, usually of bird or beast, that issues from a wreath, cap, or coronet, placed on a helmet which, in turn, is borne above the shield, as in the illustrations just mentioned. For satiric purposes, Jonson speaks of crests but twice, but each time with striking effect. The first is the crest of

¹ Legh, Fol. 42b.

Sogliardo, "a boar without a head, rampant;" ² the second is the substitute proposed by Carlo,—a frying-pan. ³

The Wreath, which supposedly consists of twisted silk, displays six folds, three of the principal colour, three of the principal metal. "You Painters and
The Wreath. Glasiers, take a rule with you," says Legh, "that when you fet forthe any wrethe, to fet the mettell firfte." ⁴

The Helmet, by its position and material, indicates the rank of the bearer. ⁴ Legh does not state the points of difference, but contents himself with
The Helmet. referring the reader to his illustrations. In his drawing of the achievement of a duke (See Frontispiece), the helmet is affronté, with six bars. His achievement of a baron (Figure 15) displays a helmet in profile with four bars visible. His knight's helmet is in profile, with vizor closed (Figure 14); and his helmet of an esquire, closed and affronté. For these last two helmets, Guillim takes Legh to task. Of a helmet full-faced with vizor open, Guillim says: "This Form of Helmet (in my Conceit) doth beft quadrate with the Dignity of a Knight, tho' *Leigh* improperly ufeth the fame; the fame (I fay) in Regard of the direct standing thereof, but divers in this, that the Beaver of that is clofe, and this open. For he assigneth this to the degree of an Esquire, wherein I altogether diffent." ⁵ And of a helmet in profile with vizor closed, Guillim says: "This form of Helmet, placed fide-long and clofe, doth *Ger*.

² *E. M. O.*, III, I; Wks, I, 100. ³ Legh, Fol. 89 b. ⁴ Boutell & Aveling, pp. 329-30, state the matter thus: "The Helm of the Sovereign, and Princes of the Blood Royal, is of gold, and stands affronté, guarded with six bars. The Helm of nobles is of silver decorated with gold; it is represented in profile, and showing five bars. . . . The Helm of Baronets and Knights is of steel, garnished with silver, and standing affronté; the vizor is raised, and without bars. The Helm of Esquires and Gentlemen has the vizor closed, and is placed in profile." ⁵ Guillim, 1679, p. 309; 1724, p. 441.

Leigh attribute to the Dignity of a Knight ; but in mine Understanding, it fitteth better the Calling of an Esquire." ⁶ This, then, rather than a helmet closed and affronté, is the form of helm in the arms of Sogliardo. (See Figure 18, beyond.)

From behind the helmet issues the Mantling, a scarf slashed and twisted in fantastic scrolls. As the twisting of the scarf displays both sides of the material, *Leigh* regularly blazons the mantle as of one tincture "doubled" with another.

The disposition of the crest, wreath, helmet, and mantling, appear in the Achievement of a Knight, which

Illustration: I reproduce from *Leigh* (Figure 14). *Leigh* blazons this achievement as follows:—

Achievement of a Knight. "This knight beareth two feueal coats of armes quarterly as followeth. The first. The field is Geules; on a chiefe Argent, two Mulletts Sable. The secōd, barwaies of fixe peecees, Or & Azure, a bende Geules. The thirde as the Second. The fowerth as the first. His Creaft, a bore passant Ermins, fette on a wreathe Argent and Geules, Mantell, Azure doubled Or. And for the difference of a second brother of that houe from whence hee is difcended, he beareth the Creffant." ⁷

The Word, or Motto, generally appears on a scroll beneath the shield (Figures 14 and 15); but if it pertains

The Word, or Motto. to the crest, its place is there. Thus were grouped the motto "Ich dien" and the crest of three ostrich feathers which according to tradition, Edward the Black Prince took from the King of Bohemia on the field of Crécy. (Figure 25). To this incident, Jonson refers in the speech of Merlin in *Prince Henry's Barriers*. ⁸

⁶ Ibid, 1679, p. 308; 1724, p. 441. ⁷ *Leigh*, Fol. 58 a. ⁸ *Wks*, III, 67.



FIGURE 14.
THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A KNIGHT.
FROM LEGH'S ACCEDENS OF ARMORY, 1576, FOLIO 58 A.

The Supporters of a coat of arms are two figures placed on either side of the shield, in the attitude of upholding or defending it. (See Frontispiece **Supporters**, and Figure 15.) In *A Tale of a Tub*, in describing the coat of arms upon a tabard, Jonson speaks of "a dragon and a greyhound for the supporters of the arms." ⁹ And in *Part of King James's Entertainment in Passing to his Coronation*, Jonson mentions "the entire arms of the kingdom, with garter, crown, and supporters, cut forth as fair and great as the life." ¹⁰

As an illustration of Supporters, I have referred above to Legh's achievement of "Thomas Lorde Hawarde the seconde of that name, Duke of Norfolke," which

Illustration: constitutes my Frontispiece. Legh's blazon of this achievement runs as follows:

Achievement of a Duke. "The Dukes grace of Northfolke beareth iiij cotes quarterly. The firste, the field is Geules, on a Bende, betweene vi croselettes, botone Fitch, Argent, an escocheon, Or, a demilion, within a double Treffure counterflowred, of the firste. This is borne by the name of the lorde Haward. The seconde cote, the field is Geules, three Lyons passant, Or, a file with three Lambeaux, Argent, borne by the name of the Lord Brotherton, Earle marshall of Englande. The thirde cote, is Checky, Or, and Azure, & borne by the name of the Earle of Warren. The fourth cote, the field thereof is Geules, a Lyon Rampant, Argent, and is borne by the name of the Lorde Mowbrey. All within the garter, cotised of two Lyons, Argent, hys creast a Lyon passant, Or, crowned and colored wyth a Fyle, and three Lambeaux, Argent, sett on a Chapeau, Geules turned vp Ermyne, Mantelled Geules, doubled Ermins." ¹¹

⁹ *A Tale of a Tub*, I, III; Wks, II, 445. ¹⁰ Wks, II, 562. ¹¹ Legh, Fol. 43 b.

In the royal achievement and in the arms of the knights of the society to which it gives its name, there

appears another accessory, the Garter. The

The Garter. Garter is a blue ribbon "charged with the motto '*Honi soit qui mal y pense*,' in letters of gold, with golden borders, buckle, and pendant."¹² In an achievement, it is arranged in a circle about the shield with the buckle at the base, as in the Frontispiece and in Figure 15. Also among the insignia of this Order are two others mentioned by Jonson: the Collar, and the George. The latter is a pendant from the former, and is "a figure of St. George on his charger, in the act of piercing the dragon with his lance."¹³ These several insignia are named or alluded to by Jonson in two of his masques. In the *Masque of the Metamorphosed Gipsies*, occur the lines:—

But be wise and wary
And we may both carry
The Kate and the Mary
And all the bright aery
Away to the quarry,
The George and the Garter
Into our own quarter.¹⁴

And in the *Fortunate Isles*, Johphiel, pretending to endow Merefool with magic power, remarks:—

... There's your Order,
You will have your Collar sent you ere't be long.¹⁵

In comparison with these somewhat unpoetical references of Jonson, it is pleasant to recall the lines of Shakspeare in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, V, V:—

... . . . About, about!
Search Windsor Castle, elves, within and out. . . .
Each fair instalment, coat, and several crest,
With loyal blazon, ever more be blest.

¹² B. & A., 376. ¹³ Ibid, 378. ¹⁴ Wks, III, 144-5, Note. ¹⁵ Wks. III, 193.

And nightly, meadow-fairies, look you sing,
 Like to the Garter's compass, in a ring.
 The expressure that it bears, green let it be,
 More fertile-fresh than all the field to see ;
 And '*Honi soit qui mal y pense*' write
 In emerald tufts, flowers purple, blue, and white ;
 Like sapphire, pearl, and rich embroidery
 Buckled below fair knighthood's bending knee.

As a final illustration of achievements, and to illustrate also the term Badge, or Cognizance, which I must next define, I here insert one more plate from Legh, the Achievement of a Baron, (Figure 15). Legh's blazon is as follows :—

“This noble knight of worthy fame, did beare twelue feuerall cotes. The first wherof is Argent, a Fesse danse, Sable, by the name of Weste. The second, Illustration : Geules, crufulle botone Fytche, a Lyon ram- Achievement pande, Argent, by the name of Lawarre. of a Baron. The third is Azure, three Leopardes heades, iefaint Flowers Or, by the name of Cantelupe. The fowerth, Barwaies of vi pieces, Or, and Azure, a chiefe of the firste, three pallets, betwene two base Esquiers Dexter, and Sinister, of the second, an Infcocheon Ermine, by the name of Mortimer of Wigmore. The fift a Geronee of xii pieces, Argent, and Geules, within a bordure Sable bezaunt, by the name of Peuerell. The sixth, Geules, masculie verray, by the name of Tregose. The feuenth, Argent, three Formales Geules, by the name of Forte. The eyghte, Geules, three Lions rampaunde Or, within a bordure engrailed Argent, by the name of Fitzperfe. The nynth, Geules, three Sufflues Or, by the name of Verft. The tenth, Argent, on a bende, betwene two bendelets, Geules, three Mullets Or, perfed, by the name of Hakelet. The eleuenth, Geules, a bend and two bendes aboue, Or, by the name of Grisley. The twelueth,



FIGURE 15.
THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A BARON.
FROM LEGH'S ACCEDENS OF ARMORY, 1576, FOLIO 50 B.

Verte, tenne Escallopes, Argent, iiii, iii, ii, and i, by the name of Thorley. All within the Garter. His creast, a Griffons head Azure, beaked, berded, and eared within a crowne Or, set on a Torse Geules and Azure, mantelled Azure doubled Ermyne, supported with a Mantiger Argent, gorged erased Sable, with a collar Or, and a wyuerne Or, scaled Azure. His badge was a Crampette Or, geueen to his auncesters, for takynge the Frenche kyng in fiele. Also hys cognifaunce was a Rose parted in pale Argent and Geules, which he had of the Mortimer aforefayd. Thus haue I blazed this noble manes Acheuement, by the name of sir Thomas West, baron of Grisley, lord Lawarre, and of Cantelupe, knight of the moste honorable order of the Garter." ¹⁶

A Badge, or Cognizance, a device mentioned in the foregoing blazon and illustrated in the accompanying plate **Badges, or** (Figure 15), is an emblem sometimes identical with the crest or with some charge in **Cognizances.** the escutcheon, but as often unconnected with either. Its usual place is on the sleeve, breast, or back of the wearer; and it differs from a coat of arms in that it is borne not alone by the members of the family but by their entire following.

To possess dependants who should display their master's badge is the immediate desire of several of Jonson's newly rich. Scarcely, for example, have Onion and Juniper discovered the pile of gold, ¹⁷ before they raise the question, "What badge shall we give, what cullison?" And the same thought has evidently occurred to Sogliardo, for Carlo says of him: "I came from him but now; he is at the heralds' office yonder; he requested me to go afore, and take up a man or two for him in Paul's against his cognizance was ready." ¹⁸

¹⁶ Legh, Fol. 50 b - 51 b. ¹⁷ *The Case Is Altered*, IV. IV; Wks, II, 544. ¹⁸ *E. M.* O., III, I; Wks, I, 97.

More interesting, however, is Jonson's frequent mention in his masques, of the badges of the English sovereigns. Among these, the red rose of Lancaster and the white rose of York are familiar. Henry VII, first of the Tudor sovereigns, gave as one of his badges "a rose of York and Lancaster,"¹⁹ that is, the "Tudor rose;" and this was among the badges borne by his successors. James I, who united in his person the crowns of England and Scotland, gave as his badges, "a thistle," and "a rose and thistle dimidiated and crowned;" and these badges were continued in use by Charles I.²⁰ Jonson refers to all of these badges. For example, in *Prince Henry's Barriers*, January 1, 1610-11, Merlin speaks first of Henry VII, and then of James I:—

Henry but joined the roses that ensigned
Particular families, but this hath joined
The Rose and Thistle.²¹

On Twelfth-night, 1626, when the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria of France was yet recent, the masque entitled *The Fortunate Isles* spoke of

. . . the prophecy that goes
Of joining the bright Lily and the Rose."²²

In 1630, the masque, *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, had, as one of its stage properties, "a palm-tree with an imperial crown on the top; from the root whereof, lilies and roses twining together, and embracing the stem, flourish through the crown;" and this was explained by Venus in the following lines:—

¹⁹ B. & A., 307. ²⁰ Ibid, 308. ²¹ Wks, III, 69. ²² Wks, III, 198.

Beauty and Love, whose story is mysterial
In yonder palm-tree and the crown imperial,
Do, from the Rose and Lily so delicious,
Promise a shade shall ever be propitious
To both the Kingdoms. . . .²³

And finally, in *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, July 30, 1634,
the word is still :—

Hey for the lily, for, and the blended rose !²⁴

²³ Wks, III, 203. ²⁴ Wks, III, 221.



CHAPTER VI.

THE HERALDS' COLLEGE.

IN THE FOREGOING CHAPTERS, I have written of heraldic insignia under four heads: the shield, its tinctures, forms, points, and partitions; the charges that may be borne upon it; the marshalling of several coats within one shield; and the accessories that, grouped about the shield, unite with it to make up a complete achievement. I now purpose to complete Part I. with a chapter upon the officers of arms, the Heralds' College. In England, since the reign of Edward III, ¹ the heralds have possessed exclusive jurisdiction over the bearing of coat-armour; and since the year 1483, in the reign of Richard III, ² they have constituted a corporate body known as the Heralds' College, or College of Arms. The headship of the College, in Jonson's day as now, was vested in the Earl Marshal; but from the death of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1590, down to the appointment of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, in 1622, the duties of the earl-marshalship were performed, save for two brief periods, ³ by commissioners. ⁴ The College itself, during the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, ⁵ consisted, except for an occasional herald extraordinary or pursuivant extraor-

¹ B. & A., 343. ² This is the date given by Planché, p. 33, and by all other authorities I have consulted, one excepted. This one, Boutell & Aveling, p. 343, assigns the incorporation to "about the year 1425." ³ Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was appointed Earl Marshal in 1597; executed, 1601. Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, acted as Earl Marshal at the coronation of James I. See Noble: *Hist. of Col. of Arms*, Appendix, xxxix. ⁴ Ibid, xxxix. ⁵ Ibid, 158-253.

dinary, of the following thirteen members : three kings of arms entitled Garter, Clarencieux, and Norroy, of whom Garter was the chief ; six heralds, namely, Windsor, Richmond, York, Chester, Somerset, and Lancaster ; and four pursuivants, namely, Rouge-Dragon, Rouge-Croix, Portcullis, and Blue-mantle. ⁶

"The Herauldes of Englande," wrote John Dodridge, the Solicitor General, in August, 1600, "have beine auncientlye incorporated by the Kings of this Realme, and reduced in *Corpus Corporatum & Collegium*, as namely among others in the second yeare of Kinge Richard the thirde ; alfoe by King Edward the fixt, and Queene Marye. . . . By the Charter of King Edward the fixt, made in the thirde yeare of his Raigne, they are difchardged and made free of all Taxes, Chardges, and Subfedics graunted by Parliament. . . .

"They are devided into three feverall Companyes ; into Kings whereof there be now three, Garter, Clarencieux, and Norrey ; (in tymes past there have bein IIII^{or} Kings ;) Herauldes, whereof there bee now fix, Yorke, Richemonde, Somerfett, Lancaftre, Cheftre, and Windefore ; and Purfevaunts, whereof there nowe bee fower,

Compare Scott's roster of the Scottish College of Arms, in *Marmion* : Canto IV, vi, vii :—

Each at his trump a banner wore
Which Scotland's royal scutcheon bore :
Heralds and pursuivants, by name
Bute, Islay, Marchmount, Rothsay, came
In painted tabards, proudly showing
Gules, Argent, Or, and Azure glowing,
Attendant on a King-at-Arms.
The double tressure might you see
First by Achaius borne,
The thistle and the fleur-de-lis
And gallant unicorn.
So bright the king's armorial coat
That scarce the dazzled eye could note
In living colours blazoned brave

Rougedragon, Blewe-mantle, Portcullis, and Rouge-croffe." ⁷

In this list, the student of Jonson will recognize the title held, from 1597 to 1623, by Jonson's friend and master, William Camden, Esquire, *alias* Clarencieux, Principall Herald and King of Arms of the East, West, and South partes of England from the River Trent southward. The student will recognize also the title which may have suggested that of Piedmantle, the foolish pursuivant of *The Staple of News*.

The duties of the Heralds of Arms in Jonson's day are described by Dodridge in the paper from which we have just quoted, 1600, and also by Francis Thynne, Lancaster herald, in a discourse dated 1605. The former says :—

"The office and ufe of our Heraulds may bee drawne into theife fowre [Heades]:

"First, they are Messengers by the Lawes of Armes, betweene Potentates, for matter of Honnour and Armes.

The LION which his title gave ;
A train which well beseem'd his state
But all unarm'd around him wait.
Still is thy name in high account
And still thy verse hath charms,
Sir David Lindesay of the Mount,
LORD-LYON, KING-AT-ARMS !

⁷ From "A consideration of the office and dutye of the Herauldes in Englande, drawne out of sundrye observations. By John Dodridge, the King's Solicitor Generall, at the instance of Hon. E. of Northampton, in Aug. 1600;" in Hearne: *Collection of Curious Discourses*, 1720, p. 271.

A similar list of the officers of the Herald's College is given by Francis Thynne, Lancaster herald, in 1605 :—

"In the third Year of King James, thus stands the state of the Office of Armes: Garter, Clarencieux, Norroy, Kings; besides Ulster, King of Ireland. Yorke, Richmond, Somerset, Lancaster, Chester, Windsor, Heralds. Rouge-dragon, Rougecrosse, Blewmantle, Portcullys, Pursevants; and one other Pursevant extraordinary, called Portsmouth." This extract is from "Bib. Ashm. No. 835. IV. A Discourse of the Duty and Office of an Herald of Arms, written by Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, third day of March, Anno 1605, in a Letter to a Peer;" reprinted by Hearne (see above), pp. 230-268, and also in "The Second Part of Honour Civil," appended to Guillim, 1724. My transcript is from the latter, page 40.

"Secondly, they are *Cæremoniarum ministri*, as in the Coronation of Kings and Queenes, in the Creation of noble dignities, of Honnor in the Installations of the Honorable Knights, of orders in Tryumphes, Jufts, Combatts, Marriages, Chriftnings, Interrments and Funeralls, and to attende in all folempne Affemblyes of State and Honnour. And by fome of them ought the Proclamations of greate matters of State to bee promulged.

"Thirdly, the caufes of Chivallrye, and Gentilletye are committed to their care, as in the right of beareing of Armes in Shieldes, Efcutcheons, Targetts, Banners, Pennaunts, Coates, and fuch like ; Correction of Armes in their vifitations, and the obfervation of Pedegrees, and difcents of Noblemen and Gentlemen.

"Fourthlye, they are the Prothonotaries, Griffyers, and Registers of all Acts and proceedings in the Courts of the Conftable and Marshall of England, or by fuche as have theire Authoritye, and in theire Bookes, and Recordes, they ought to preferve to perpetuall memorye, all facts and noteable designements of Honnour and Armes." ⁸

Francis Thynne, who was Lancaster herald from 1602 to 1608, and whom Camden described as "an excellent antiquary, and a gentleman painful and well-deserving his office whilst he lived," ⁹ described the duties of the kings of arms as follows :—

"It fhall not be unpleafant, I hope, unto your Lordship, to know what the authoritye of a Kinge of Armes is in his Province ; and for that caufe, I have here fett them downe.

"Firft, as nigh as he cann, hee fhall take knowledge, and recorde the Armes, Crefts, and Cognizaunces, and auncient wordes ; as alfoe of the Lyne and Defcent, or Pedegree of every Gentleman within his Province of what eftate or degree foever he bee.

⁸ Dodridge: *A consideration of the office and dutye of the Herauldes in Englande*, 1600; in Hearne, 1720, p. 270-71. ⁹ Noble, 213-14; see also Dallaway, 224-5.

"Item, hee shall enter into all Churches, Chappells, Oratories, Castles, Howses, or auncient buildings, to take knowledge of their Foundations ; and of the noble Estates buried in them ; as also of their Armes, and Armes of the Places, their heades and auncient Recordes.

"Item, hee shall prohibite any Gentleman to beare the Armes of any other or such as be not true Armorye, and as he ought according to the Law of Armes.

"He shall prohibite any Marchaunt, or any other to put their names, markes, or devises, in Escuchions or Sheildes ; which belonge and only appartayne to Gentlemen bearing Armes, and to none other.

"Item, he shall make diligent searche, if any beare Armes without authoritye or good right ; and finding such, although they be true Blazon, he shall prohibite them.

"The said King of Armes in his Province hath full power and authoritye by the King's grante, to give confirmation to all Noblemen and Gentlemen ignorant of their Armes, for the which he ought to have the Fee belonging thereto.

"He hath authoritye to give Armes and Crests to persons of abilitie deserving well of the Prince and commonwealth, by reason of Office, Authoritye, Wisedome, Learninge, good Manners, and sober Governmente. They to have such graunts by Patent under the Seale of the Office of the King of Armes, and to pay therefore the Fees accustomed.

"Item, no Gentleman, or other, may erect or sett upp in any Church, att Funerals, either Banners, Standards, Coates of Armes, Helmes, Crests, Swords, or any other Hatchment, without the licence of the said Kinge of Armes of the Province, or by allowance or permission of his Marhall or Deputye. Because the Armes of the noble estate deceased, the day of his death, the place of

his buriall, his marriage and yffues, ought to be taken and recorded in the Office of that King."¹⁰

Of the duties enumerated by John Dodridge and Francis Thynne in the selections just quoted, three are of especial interest to students of Jonson. These three are the conferring of arms, the recording of pedigrees, and the supervision of funerals. These duties, we will now consider in the order named.

By the ordinance issued by the Earl Marshal, Thomas Lord Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in 1568, the three kings of arms were authorized to grant coats of arms and to divide among them the not inconsiderable fees that thus accrued. The result was such as might have been anticipated. In an era of prosperity, such as that upon which England was then entering, there must have been many a Sogliardo, many "an essential clown . . . so enamoured of the name of gentleman that he will have it though he buys it ;" ¹¹ and there were certainly heralds sufficiently unscrupulous to grant him arms in return for a sufficient fee.

These abuses were already existent in the reign of Elizabeth. If Ralph Brooke, York herald, is to be believed, Cook, who was Clarencieux from 1566-7 to 1592, granted no less than five hundred coats of arms ; and Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter 1549-84, and his son William Dethick, Garter 1586-1603-4, gave more than that number. ¹² In the year 1600, however, when Jonson published his *Every Man Out of His Humour*, this abuse did not seem serious. The mushroom gentleman Sogliardo was a fit subject for mirth ; but the heralds, provided they assigned him fool's motley for a coat and "a boar

¹⁰ Thynne : *A Discourse of the Dutye and Office of an Heraulde of Armes*, 1605 ; in Hearne, 1720, p. 252-254. ¹¹ *E. M. O.*, The character of the persons ; Wks, I, 63. ¹² Noble, 161.

without a head rampant" for a crest, might pass scatheless. Jonson merely saw the fun and drew the picture.

In the reign of James, however, the evil grew so notorious as to demand correction. On one occasion, Brooke, the York herald, sent to Sir William Segar, Garter, a design for a coat of arms, with a request that it be confirmed to one Gregory Brandon. Garter, without investigation, affixed his seal and signature, and took the fee. Brooke thereupon laid the matter before the Commissioners for the Earl Marshalship. He showed that the arms confirmed by Garter were Arragon with a canton of Brabant; and that Brandon, to whom they had been granted, was the common hangman of London. He declared further that his purpose in putting this trick upon his superior was to convince the Commissioners of the unscrupulous and mercenary character of Garter. King James, when the matter was brought to his attention, was highly indignant. The affront to Spain, the negligence or cupidity of the king-at-arms, and the malice and treachery of the accusing herald, alike incensed him. He ordered that both Garter and his subordinate be imprisoned in the Marshalsea.¹³ This was on December 17th, 1616. The abuse, however, continued. Certain heralds not only granted armorial bearings to applicants base born, but even granted the arms of certain families to others in no wise related to the rightful owners. Realizing that sweeping action was necessary, King James, on February 7th, 1618-19, appointed a commission to reform the Herald's' College.¹⁴ This effort, it would seem, had some success; for Peacham writes: "Coats sometimes are by stealth purchased, shuffled into Records and Monuments by Painters, Glafiers, Carvers, and such: But I trust, so good an order hath been lately established by the Right Honourable, the late Commissioners for the office of

¹³ Noble, 231; Dallaway, 226-7-8, note. ¹⁴ Noble, 194.

the Earl Marshallship, and careful respect of the Heralds with us, that all hope of finifter dealing in that kind is quite cut off from such mercenary abusers of Nobility." ¹⁵

Equally important with their jurisdiction over the bearing of coat-armour was the duty of the heralds to record the pedigrees of all persons of gentle or of noble blood. The two provincial kings of arms, Clarencieux and Norroy, were supposed to make official "Visitations" at convenient intervals to each county within their respective provinces. On these occasions, the king at arms or his deputy summoned all the gentlemen of the county to appear before him, and to bring their arms and pedigrees to be recorded. He also made a record of all armorial insignia displayed in churches, castles, or other buildings, in windows, monuments, or otherwise, and corrected and forbade whatever heraldic abuses might there appear. Many records of the heraldic visitations of Jonson's time have been preserved, and in recent years have been edited and published. Among these are several nominally by William Camden, Clarencieux, who, between 1612 and 1623, made by deputy nearly a score of these visitations. ¹⁶

From the records gathered on these visitations, the heralds were accustomed to provide gentlemen so desiring with certified genealogies. Such was the pedigree which Piedmantle prepared for the Lady Pecunia in *The Staple of News*, described by Pennyboy Junior as a "scroll," "rarely painted." ¹⁷ Dallaway, speaking of pedigrees made in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, writes thus:—

"Amongst other demonstrations of hereditary honours, which the nobility and gentry were at this æra so

¹⁵ Peacham: *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1622. My transcript is from the edition of 1661, p. 186. ¹⁶ Dallaway, 163-68, note. See also, Ellis: *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*; Camden Society, 1843; p. 127-28, note. ¹⁷ *S. of N.* IV, I; Wks, II, 321.

particularly ambitious to obtain or preserve, were the pedigrees of their families drawn out upon vellum rolls, with illuminations and emblazoned escocheons and authenticated by the official seal and signature of the king of arms of the province. From this fashion very considerable emoluments accrued to the heralds, as well from the labour which was bestowed in finishing them, as the frequent employment which they found.”¹⁸

To the foregoing passage, Dallaway adds this note:—

“There are few families of high provincial antiquity and establishment, amongst whose archives a genealogical tree is not preserved. As specimens of greater curiosity these may be enumerated. One in the library of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, is thus specified in the catalogue:—

“ ‘A fair parchment roll, in length 15 yards, in breadth three, lined with silk, containing the pedigree of the Royal Family, and the several branches of it, from King Alfred to Edward the sixth, with their arms drawn and colored—the attestation is thus subscribed: “This pedigree was traueled and set furth by W. Harvey, esqyor, alias Norroy King of Arms of all the North parts of England from the river Trent northward, and by the King’s Minister’s commandment perused, corrected and overseen by Sir Gilbert Dethyck, knt., alias Garter Princypal King of Arms of the south, east, and west partes of this realm of England from Trent southward. In wytness whereof the sayd have hereunto subscribed theyr names the 2d day of June, in the yere of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord Edward ths syxte, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in erthe of the Church of England supreme hed.” Names and seals annexed.’

“Lord Denbigh,” continues Dallaway, “has a collection of rolls of arms and genealogy, and one of the

¹⁸ Dallaway, 265-6.

Fieldings, beginning with Egbert, first king of the heptarchy; and in the collection of the late Dr. Plott was the genealogy of the Dymokes, kings' champions, from the year 1141 'till within memory, with all their arms and those of their matches. It was sometimes usual to bind up these pedigrees in folio volumes of parchment, in which the descents were continued from one page to another. Of this description a very beautiful specimen is now in the possession of John Heathfield Hicks, M. D., of Gloucester, of the family of Weston-Luzers in Staffordshire, authenticated by Segar, Garter." ¹⁹

Third among the important rights and duties of the heralds was their jurisdiction over the funerals of nobility and gentry. This was one of the most remunerative and most highly cherished privileges of the College; yet to recent editors of Jonson, its very existence seems unknown. Two Yale editors have lately had occasion to comment upon the passage, "buried with the trumpeters, . . . the heralds of arms," in *The Staple of News*, Act I, scene II. ²⁰ Neither has said anything to the point. ²¹ To make clear this passage, the last "Item" in the *Discourse* of Francis Thynne, above quoted, is perhaps sufficient. Yet I shall venture to amplify his statement by means of an extract from Dallaway:—

"[In the reign of Elizabeth,] heraldic ceremonies . . . still retained their station upon occasions of ancient establishment. More particularly were they observed at solemn interments of the nobility; and the inferior ranks of society were equally ambitious of funeral pomp. Amongst the laws of chivalry, of those indeed which were then more generally enforced, was an obligation upon the heir of persons of either sex intitled to coat-armour,

¹⁹ Dallaway, 265-6, note. ²⁰ *S. of N.*, I, II; *Wks*, II, 288. ²¹ Winter, *S. of N.*, p. 142; and Henry, *Epicæne*, p. 218.

to employ one herald at least to regulate the procession, by duly marshalling the attendants and performing certain of the obsequies. Upon such occasions, it was customary to take a certificate of the titles and an account of the immediate descent of the deceased, with their marriages and issue. These notices were afterward registered in the College of Arms, and the ceremonial frequently inserted by way of precedent for others. In the compilation of pedigrees, few documents have been found more useful than funeral certificates, more especially since the discontinuance of provincial visitations. From the universal fashion of magnificent burials over which the heralds asserted absolute jurisdiction, arose very considerable emoluments, upon which account the painter-stainers, who furnished the armorial trophies, usurped a power of marshalling escocheons, very frequently in opposition to the confirmed usage, and with interference with those of other families, by omitting the due marks of difference. The court of chivalry was scarcely of sufficient validity to protect the rights of its own officers from these infringements, nor did the signal punishment of some delinquents by fine and imprisonment deter others from similar practices. For so generally allowed was this claim of the heralds to stated fees upon these occasions, that their demand was very rarely opposed, but when their attendance was not required a pecuniary composition was made."²²

Some idea of the number of persons not of the nobility who, to use the words of Pennyboy Junior, were "buried with the trumpeters," may be gained from the following official record:—

"Names of those buried with heralds from October 22, 1597, to the 14th of May, 1605, nobles excepted, which pertain unto Garter.

²² Dallaway, 248-256.

"1597	Five.	1600	Twenty six.	1603	Six.
"1598	Twenty two.	1601	Eighteen.	1604	Twelve.
"1599	Twenty.	1602	Twelve.	1605	Six."

One more extract from the records will suggest, perhaps, why Pennyboy Junior should think the presence of heralds at his father's funeral to be "noise that is superfluous":—

"Charges of the funeral of Sir George Rogers, Knt.,
1582:—

"To Mr. Clarencieux, Kinge of Armes, for his fee,	vi	℥	
"Item, for his gowne, cote, and hood of blacke clothe, v yeardes at xx s. the yeard,	iiij	℥	xv s.
"Item, for his servantis lyvery,			xxiv s.
"Item, for his transportation and charges from London to Danington (county of Somersfet) being 114 miles at xii pence the mile, and so to London again,	xi	℥	viiij s.
"Item, to Rouge Dragon, Officer of Arms, for his fee	iiij	℥	vi s. viij d.
"Item, for his blacke cloth for his gowne, &c.	iiij	℥	xv s.
"Item, lyvery for his servante,			xxiv s.
"Item, for his transportation and charges from London to Danington, and so retourne, at viij d. the myle,	vij	℥	xii s.
"Item, for the horfeyre and charges to convey the healme, creft, pall, and hatchment, from London, &c.			xl s.
"Item, in confideration of the pall of 30 yards of black velvet, and for the cloth upon the hearfe, and rayles, timber, and ftool clothes,			

"Total received, 1v ℥ " 24

²³ R. 20. MSS. Coll. of Arms, Folio, "Funeral Ceremonies." Order of interments, names of mourners, &c. p. 23; quoted by Dallaway, 260, note.

²⁴ MSS. Coll. Arm.—90, p. 182; quoted by Dallaway, 271-2.

The more we study these and other records of the Heralds' College, the more do Jonson's references to heralds and to heraldry become significant. To almost every one of the duties and privileges of the College, Jonson somewhere refers. In *Every Man Out of His Humour*, he laughs at the granting of arms to the unworthy, and in *The Staple of News*, at the fabrication of pedigrees "from all the kings and queens that ever were." In the same play, Jonson voices the general protest of the gentry against the exorbitant claims of the heralds for funeral fees. We should note, however, that Jonson attacks not the institution of Heraldry but its abuse, and that, lest any should mistake, he has himself stated his position. We cannot better conclude our present chapter and our study of the heralds and heraldry of Jonson's day, than by quoting the lines of Pennyboy Canter in *The Staple of News*, IV, I, in which, we may feel sure, Jonson himself is speaking:—

If thou hadst sought out good and virtuous persons
Of these professions, I had loved thee and them :
For these shall never have that plea against me
Or colour of advantage, that I hate
Their callings, but their manners and their vices.
..... Here is Piedmantle ;
'Cause he's an ass, do not I love a herald,
Who is the pure preserver of descents,
The keeper fair of all nobility,
Without which all would run into confusion ?
Were he a learned herald, I would tell him
He can give arms and marks, he cannot honour ; . . .
And he would thank me for this truth.²⁵

²⁵ *S. of N.*, IV, I; *Wks.*, II, 323-4.

PART II.

THE HERALDIC PASSAGES
IN JONSON'S PLAYS, MASQUES
AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

Although the Affe be flowe, yet is he fure.
And as he is not the wifest, fo is he least fump-
tuous, especially in his diet. For his feeding
is on Thiftles, Nettles, and Briers, & therefore
small birdes hate him, especially the sparowe
is moste enemye vnto him. I could write
much of this beast, but that it woulde be
thought it were to mine owne glory.

—Legh: *The Accedens of Armory*, 1576.
Folio 55 b.

PART II.

NOTES ON THE HERALDIC PASSAGES IN JONSON'S PLAYS, MASQUES, AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

THE ARRANGEMENT of these Notes is, (1) the Plays, in alphabetical order; (2) the Masques and Entertainments, in the order in which they stand in the three-volume Gifford & Cunningham edition of Jonson's Works. My references are regularly to act, scene, volume, and page of this edition, indicated by the abbreviation "Wks." The names "Alden," "Henry," "Mallory," and "Winter," refer respectively to the edition of *Bartholomew Fair* edited by Dr. C. S. Alden, of *Epicæne* edited by Dr. Aurelia Henry, of *The Poetaster* edited by Dr. H. S. Mallory, and of *The Staple of News* edited by Dr. De Winter, all in the *Yale Studies in English*.

THE ALCHEMIST.

Requires no annotation.

BARTHOLOMEW FAIR.

I, I; Wks, II, 153. Alden, p. 22, line 10.

Cross and pile.

Pile is here used not in its heraldic sense, but to designate "the reverse side of a coin, from the impression of the pillar [pile] on which it was stamped."¹ The phrase means "heads and tails."

¹ *Standard Dictionary*.

II, I; Wks, II, 158-9. Alden, p. 32, lines 16-17.

They made me, yea me, to mistake an honest zealous pursuivant for a seminary.

Pursuivant. It should be remembered that other bodies besides the College of Arms had pursuivants. Here the pursuivant is evidently a messenger or warrant-server for some ecclesiastical court, sent perhaps to apprehend the seminary (popish priest) for whom he is mistaken. See Alden, pp. 164-5.

THE CASE IS ALTERED.

IV, IV; Wks, II, 544.

ONION. . . . *I'll turn gentleman.*

JUNIPER. *So will I.*

ONI. *But what badge shall we give, what cullison?*

JUN. *As for that, let's use the infidelity and commiseration of some harrot of arms, he shall give us a gudgeon.*

ONI. *A gudgeon! a scutcheon, thou wouldst say, man.*

Badge, cullison. A cognizance; a device worn by a servant on his sleeve, and by a soldier upon breast or back, to show of whom he is a follower. The roses of York and Lancaster were badges, cullisons. See p. 58.

Give. To bear, in the heraldic sense; to display or exhibit heraldically, of right. See p. 13.

Harrot of arms. An old form of Herald-of-Arms.

Scutcheon. Escutcheon, heraldic shield; the central element in a complete achievement of arms; here used loosely, perhaps, to stand for the entire achievement, and so to include the badge, as in the "Achievement of a Baron," Figure 15.

CATILINE HIS CONSPIRACY.

II, I; Wks, II, 92.

*Cicero, . . . a mere upstart,
That has no pedigree, no house, no coat,
No ensigns of a family!*

Coat. Coat of arms; heraldic achievement. See p. 13.

CYNTHIA'S REVELS.

II, I; Wks, I, 162.

MERCURY. *Shall we go, Cupid?*

CUPID. *Stay, and see the ladies now: they'll come presently. I'll help to paint them.*

MER. *What, lay colour upon colour! that affords but an ill blazon.*

CUP. *Here comes metal to help it, the Lady Argurion.*

Colour. The heraldic tinctures are of three classes, the metals, the colours, and the furs. The colours are azure, gules, sable, vert, purpure, sanguine, and tenné. See p. 15.

Metal. The heraldic metals are or and argent. See p. 15.

Blazon. A description of a coat of arms, phrased in technical heraldic terms. See p. 16.

Colour upon colour . . . affords but an ill blazon. A metal may be placed upon a colour, or a colour upon a metal, or either upon a fur, or a fur upon either; but to charge a field of any tincture with a bearing of a tincture of the same class, i. e. a metal upon a metal, a colour upon a colour, or a fur upon a fur, is false heraldry. See p. 20.

III, III; Wks, I, 170.

But now, put the case she should be passant when you enter, as thus: you are to frame your gait thereafter, and call upon her, "lady, nymph, sweet refuge, star of our court." Then, if she be guardant here, you are to come on. . . . If regardant, then maintain your station. . .

Passant. Walking toward the dexter side of the shield, facing toward the same direction. See p. 33.

Guardant. As above, but with the head turned toward the spectator. See page 34.

Regardant. The same, but with the head turned back, as if looking over the shoulder toward the sinister. Some modern manuals of heraldry, e. g. Planché,² define regardant as synonymous with gardant, full-faced; but in Jonson's day, the weight of authority was against this. Legh, Ferne, Bolton, Guillim, and Carter, either in their text or in their illustrations distinguish between the two positions. I reproduce, Figure 16, Legh's text and illustrations on this point. Incidentally, his drawings will illustrate the three terms used by Johnson in the passage we are considering. See also, p. 34.

THE DEVIL IS AN ASS.

Requires no annotation.

EPICÆNE, OR THE SILENT WOMAN.

I, I; Wks, I, 411. Henry, I, IV, 36-45.

LA-FOOLE. *They all come out of our house, the La-Fooles of the north, the La-Fooles of the west, the La-Fooles of the east and south—we are as ancient a family as any is in Europe—but I myself am descended lineally of the French La-Fooles—and we do bear for our coat yellow, or OR, checkered AZURE, and GULES, and*

² Planché, 108, 202.



The fiede is Argent, two
Lions passant, Geules.
VWhiche is so muche to be
vnderstanded, as going.
For so hee keepeth a mode-
rate pace.



Hee beareth Azure twoe
Lyons passaunt regardant,
Or. Although these Ly-
ons are contrarie to there
qualitie, yet is it honorable
to the bearer, of them.



The fiede Geules twoe de-
mie Lyons passant, gardât,
Or.
Some haue thought, that
these Lions be regardant,
whereof by prooffe, you see
the contrary.

He

FIGURE 16.
PASSANT, GUARDANT, AND REGARDANT.
FROM LEGH'S ACCEDENS OF ARMORY, 1576, FOLIO 48 A.

some three or four colours more, which is a very noted coat, and has sometimes been solemnly worn by divers nobility of our house—but let that go, antiquity is not respected now.

Bear. To display or exhibit heraldically, of right. See p. 13.

Coat. Coat of arms; heraldic achievement.

Or. The heraldic metal Gold, sometimes represented by yellow. See p. 15.

Checkered. Chequy, or checquy; divided into small squares of alternate tinctures, as in a chess board. See the Frontispiece and Figure 18.

Azure. The heraldic colour Blue. See p. 15.

Gules. The Heraldic colour Red. See p. 15.

And some three or four colours more. The other heraldic colours are sable (black), vert (green), purple (purple or violet), tenné (orange), and sanguine (murrey or blood-color). See p. 15.

A very noted coat. Fool's motley. Cf. the more elaborate motley of Sogliardo, *Every Man Out of His Humour*, III, I; Wks. I, 100. See also Figure 18, beyond.

III, II; Wks, I, 433. Henry, III, VII, 41-42.

CLERIMONT. *Would that this had lasted a little longer.*

TRUEWIT. *And that they had sent for the heralds.*

Sent for the heralds. The purpose in sending for the heralds, it would seem, would be to settle the dispute between Mistress Otter and Mistress Dol. Mavis, as to which should take precedence in going in to dinner; but Dr. Aurelia Henry, in her edition of this play, appears to hold that the purpose was to increase the noise made by the musicians earlier in the scene. She quotes, from *The Staple of News*, I, II, the passage in which the

trumpeting of the heralds is called "noise that is superfluous," and then remarks: "The heralds at arms were originally announcers of important news of any kind, and called the attention of the populace to themselves by blowing upon their horns." ³

IV, II; Wks, I, 448. Henry, IV, V, 325-7.

He will . . . make you bear a blow over the mouth

GULES, and tweaks by the nose SANS NOMBRE.

That this passage is a play upon the heraldic terms "bear," "gules," and "sans nombre," should be sufficiently evident. Dr. Henry, however, offers for this passage the following delightful gloss: "*Gules. n. gullet. 4.5.326.*" Of course!

Bear. To display or exhibit heraldically, of right. See p. 13.

Gules. The heraldic colour Red. See p. 15.

Sans nombre. Without number, unnumbered. Some authorities, e.g. Bolton, ⁴ make a distinction between "sans nombre" and "semée," powdered, sown. In a field charged with fleurs-de-lis sans nombre, each fleur-de-lis would be entire; but in a field semée of fleurs-de-lis, as in the ancient arms of France, ⁵ the edges of the field would be bounded by half lilies, as if some, overlapping the edges, had been partly trimmed away. This distinction, recognized in Jonson's day, lends additional significance to Jonson's choice of words in the phrase "tweaks by the nose sans nombre." Clearly, none of the tweaking was to be done *by halves*.

EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR.

Dedication; Wks, I, 1.

To the most learned, and my honoured friend, Master Camden, Clarencieux.

³ Henry 218. ⁴ Bolton: *Elements of Armory*, 1610, p. 176-197. ⁵ See p. 31-32.

Clarencieux. One of the three kings of arms, and the second highest officer of the Heralds' College. He has heraldic jurisdiction over "the east, west, and south partes of England, from the River Trent southward." See p. 62.

Master Camden. William Camden, Esq., (1551-1623) was appointed to the Heralds' College in 1597. From 1575 to 1593 he had been second master of Westminster School; and since the latter date, its headmaster. As historian and antiquary, he had won deserved fame by the publication of his *Britannia*, 1586. He possessed, however, no special fitness for the post of Clarencieux; and this fact, together with the circumstances of his appointment, aroused the immediate enmity of his colleagues.

Camden entered the College at a moment of high internal dissention. The day of his appointment, October 22, 1597, was the day on which Elizabeth's two commissioners, Lord Burleigh and Lord Howard of Effingham, took action to suppress a long-standing and scandalous dispute between two factions of the College.⁶ Indeed, Camden's appointment seems almost like the introduction of new blood as a measure of reform. The time of his admission, therefore, was especially unfortunate. He was the more unwelcome to his new colleagues because, notwithstanding his vastly superior learning, he was, from the heraldic point of view, a layman, admittedly ignorant of the lore pertaining to his office. And in addition to all this, they were indignant that, not content with admitting him to a lower grade, the Commissioners immediately advanced Camden, over the heads of heralds long in service, to the office next to the highest in the college. How these jealous and disappointed heralds

⁶ Noble, 160.

viewed this swift promotion may be inferred from their protest against a similar appointment proposed a few years later: "that it was contrary to all order of the office, there having been no precedent of the like since their first incorporation, and a great wrong and disgrace to them, that a man who had never been employed in her Majesty's service one day should go over so many that had spent both their youth and wealth in her service."⁷ To the principle here implied, that a king of arms must first have been a herald, the Commissioners who chose Camden as Clarencieux nominally conformed; for they appointed him Richmond herald before they made him a king of arms. But as the first appointment was made on October 22d, and the second on October 23d,⁸ we may well doubt whether the indignation of Camden's new subordinates was materially decreased.⁹

Their enmity first appeared in the attack which Ralph Brooke, or Brookesmouth, York herald, began upon Camden in 1599. Desiring to show Camden's unfitness for heraldic employment, Brooke selected for attack certain genealogies appended to the fourth edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 1594; and concerning these he published in 1599, without date, *A Discoverie of certaine Errours published in print in the much commended*

⁷ This protest quoted by Noble, page 236-7, was against the proposed appointment of Richard St. George to the post of Norroy king of arms, in the closing years of the reign of queen Elizabeth. A century later, the protests of the heralds in a similar case were less successful. According to Dallaway, page 351, "Sir John Vanbrugh [the architect and dramatist] was employed by Charles, Earl of Carlisle, Deputy Earl Marshal, to build Castle Howard, in Yorkshire, and received as a compliment for his services the office of Clarencieux then vacant. . . . Notwithstanding very spirited remonstrances, by the superceded officers, against his appointment, he was confirmed in it, avowing ignorance of his new profession and neglect of all its duties. . . . The protest and remonstrance against his appointment may be seen in Anstis's Coll. V. 4. p. 270."

⁸ Noble 182.

⁹ The statement of Sir Nicolas Harris Nicholas, in his *Memoir of Augustine Vincent*, 1827, page 28, that Camden was appointed "over the heads of twelve out of the thirteen persons who formed the College of Arms," is incorrect. In the first place, since Camden was appointed not to the first but to the second

Britannia, 1594, very prejudiciall to the Discentes and Successions of the auncient Nobilitie of this Realme. Camden replied to Brooke in the fifth edition of the *Britannia*, 1600; and both men pursued the quarrel with much bitterness until their deaths. Indeed, their quarrel was not ended even then; for a century later, in 1723, Anstis brought out a previously unpublished work by Brooke, suppressed in their life-time by Camden's influence, and in 1814, Isaac D'Israeli, in his *Quarrels of Authors*, made a further plea for Brooke. However unfortunate for its authors, the Brooke-Camden controversy had one good result: it caused a thorough re-examination of much important geneological data, and left the records of the principal families of England in accurate form.¹⁰

This controversy with Brooke, however, was not Camden's only quarrel with his colleagues. Recognizing his own lack of heraldic training, he was accustomed to

post among thirteen, he passed over the heads of but eleven, not twelve, members. In the second place, as three offices below that which he received were vacant at that time, he could have gone over, at most, but eight members instead of twelve. The four offices then vacant were, first, that of Clarencieux king of arms, by the death of Lee, September 23, 1597; second, that of Somerset herald, by the promotion of Segar, 1593; third, that of Richmond herald, by the promotion of Lee, 1594; and fourth, that of Windsor herald, by the death of Nicholas Dethick, 1596. The three surviving heralds were presumably candidates for the vacant office of Clarencieux; but they were ignored in favor of Camden. To fill the three vacant heraldships, the three senior pursuivants were promoted. The three pursuivants thus opened, were filled by the appointment of men from without the College. All these changes were made October 22d and 23d, 1597. I have gathered these facts from the biographical sketches of the several men concerned, in Noble, pages 168-188.

¹⁰ The following is a partial bibliography of the Brooke-Camden controversy:—

Camden: *Britannia, sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum adjacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica Descriptio.* 1586, 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600, 1607; also in English, 1610, 1637, etc. With reference to the controversy, the editions of 1594 and 1600 are most important.

Brooke: *A Discoverie of certaine Errours published in print in the much commended Britannia, 1594, very prejudiciall to the Discentes and Successions of the auncient Nobilitie of this Realme.* 1599, without date.

Brooke: *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquises, Earles, and Viscounts of the Realme of England since the Norman Conquest*

employ minor officers of the College as his deputies in heraldic Visitations. In 1619, certain of his ill-wishers in the College complained to the Earl of Arundel, (at that time one of the Commissioners), that Camden's appointment of deputies was without right. On this point, Camden was able to show legal authority; " but four years later the complaint was revived in a new form, objection to the conduct of the deputies whom Camden had selected. Camden himself seems to have been none too certain of their fidelity; for in a letter to Sir Robert Cotton, he expressed the fear that his deputies might defraud him of his fees. He wrote:—

Sr,

With much grieve I understand some complaint have lately come to the right noble Lord the Earl Marshall, the chiefe guide of our Office, touching some such as were deput for mee in this yeeres Visitation. I hope his Lordshipp will excuse mee, that by reason of

to this present yeare 1619. Together with their Armes, Wives, and Children,, the times of their deaths and burials, with any other memorable actions, collected by Raphe Brooke, Esquire, Yorke Herauld, Discovering and Reforming many errors committed by men of other Professions and lately published in Print to the great wronging of the Nobility and prejudice of his Majestie's Officers of Armes who are onely appointed and sworne to deale faithfully in these causes.

Brooke: The same, to this present yeare 1622.

Augustine Vincent: *Discoverie of Errours in the first edition of Catalogue of Nobility published by Ralfe Brooke, Yorke Herald, ... at the end whereof is annexed a Review of a later edition by him Stoine into the World, 1621. London 1622.*

Brooke and Camden: *A Discoverie of certaine Errours published in print in the much commended Britannia, 1594. Very prejudiciall to the Discentes and Successions of the auncient Nobilitie of this Realme. By Ralphe Brooke, Yorke Herauld at Armes. Quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat. To which is added the learned Mr. Camden's Answer to this Book. London, ... M. DCC. XXIII.*

Brooke: *A Second Discovery of Errors.* "Published from the manuscript by Anstis in 1723."—*D. N. B.*

Isaac D'Israeli: *Quarrels of Authors: or some memoirs of our literary history, including specimens of controversy to the reign of Elizabeth. By the author of "Calamities of Authors." In three volumes. Vol. III. ... London. ... 1814, "Camden and Brooke," pages 160-200.*

Nicholas: *Memoir of Augustine Vincent, Windsor Herald. By Nicholas Harris Nicholas, Esq. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. London. ... 1827.*

¹¹ See letters quoted by Noble, 204-5-6.

my infirmity cannot in person attend that service, and the election of Ministers not being left to mee but limited to those of the Office, I am constrained to use noe other. If they be not so fayre in their cariages as they should, it is not myne but the fault of them that placed them in their roomes. I intreat you (as the deereſt of all my friends) to be my juſt advocate unto the noble perſon, whoſe birth and meritt I hold ever ſacred to me above all others. And ſince I perceave that my ſelfe ſhall have but hard meaſure from them in account of fees due to mee, and my infirmity barreth mee to ſtirr in my owne right, let mee pray you, with my good friend and yours Sir Henry Boucher, joyne to take the accoumpts, and if you finde any bad cariage by them to me or the Publick, to offer up my humble complaynt to my good lord the Earle Marshall, and what you too ſhall therein doe, I ſhall accoumpt by my ſelfe done. And will ever as I have beene, remayne

Your moſt affectionate

Will'm Camden, *Clarencieux*.

Chiſelherſt.

22th October,

1623.¹²

Two months before Camden died, but after the ſhock of Auguſt 18th, which was the beginning of the end, a Patent dated September 17th, 1623, designated Sir Richard St. George as Clarencieux in Camden's ſtead.¹³ The ceremony of creation was performed December 23d. Camden died November 19th, 1623. In view of his unfortunate relations with his colleagues, it is pleaſing to note in his will the following bequeſts:—

"*Item*, to every one of the fix Herarlds fower pounds.

"*Item*, to every Purfivant ordinarie and extraordinarie, two pounds."¹⁴

To his ſucceſſor in the office of Clarencieux, he left his official library.¹⁵

¹² Ellis: *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, 126-27. ¹³ To this, Camden refers in a letter of October 23d. ¹⁴ Hearne, 1720, p. 278. Hearne prints the will entire, pages 276-80. ¹⁵ *Ibid*, 279.

I, III; Wks, I, 10-11.

MATHEW. *Thy lineage, Monsieur Cob! what lineage? what lineage?*

COB. *Why, sir, an ancient lineage, and a princely. Mine ance'try came from a king's belly, no worse man and yet no man neither, by your worship's leave, I did lie in that, but herring the king of fish, (from his belly I proceed,) one of the monarchs of the world, I assure you. The first red herring that was broiled in Adam and Eve's kitchen, do I fetch my pedigree from, by the harrot's book. His cob was my great, great, mighty great grandfather.*

Harrot. Herald. For the duties of the heralds in recording pedigrees, see p. 64 and 68.

EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR.

I, I; Wks, I, 75.

SOGLIARDO. *Nay, my humour is not for boys, I'll keep men, an I keep any; and I'll give coats, that's my humour; but I lack a cullisen.*

CARLO. *Why, now you ride to the city you may buy one; I'll bring you where you shall have your choice for money.*

SOG. *Can you, sir?*

CAR. O, ay: you shall have one take measure of you, and make you a coat of arms to fit you, of what fashion you will.

SOG. *By word of mouth, I thank you, signior: I'll be once a little prodigal in a humour, i'faith, and have a most prodigious coat.*

MACILENTE. *Torment and death! . . . these
mushroom gentlemen,
That shoot up in a night to place and worship.*

Give coats. Here, give liveries.

Cullisen. Cullison, cognizance, badge. See p. 58.

You may buy one. The kings of arms, who were the three chief officers of the Heralds' College, had authority to grant arms and crests "to persons of abilitye deserving well of the Prince and commonwealth."¹⁶ In Jonson's day, however, they had sadly abused this privilege. See pp. 66-7.

II, I; Wks, I, 90.

SOGLIARDO. *You shall have me at the heralds' office, sir, for some week or so, at my first coming up.*

The Heralds' Office. See next passage.

II, II; Wks, I, 95.

FUNGOSO. *If any body ask for mine uncle Sogliardo, they shall have him at the heralds' office yonder, by Paul's.*

The Heralds' Office. From 1555 to 1666, the Heralds' Office was Derby House, a building presented to the College by Philip and Mary. This building, erected by Thomas Stanley, the second earl of Derby of that name, had passed by mortgage to Sir Richard Sackville, and from him by sale to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, the Earl Marshal. He, says Dallaway, "transferred it to the crown, and it was regranted by charter of Philip and Mary to Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter, and his associates in office, July 18, 1555."¹⁷ A copy of this "Grant by *Philip and Mary of Darby-House* to the Use of the said Corporation, for their Office" is included in the so-called sixth edition of Guillim.¹⁸ As Derby House was in the immediate neighborhood of St. Paul's Cathedral, it is, undoubtedly, the building referred to in this passage as "yonder, by Paul's."¹⁹

¹⁶ Thynne: *A Discourse of the Dutye and Office of an Heraulde of Armes*, 1605; in Hearne, 1720, p. 252-4. ¹⁷ Dallaway, 188-9. ¹⁸ Guillim, 1724: "The Second Part of Honour Civil", 57 et seq. ¹⁹ See also, Noble, xlii. Of

III, I; Wks, I, 96.

CARLO. *I came from him but now; he is at the heralds' office yonder; he requested me to go afore, and take up a man or two for him in Paul's, against his cognizance was ready.*

PUNTARVOLO. *What, has he purchased arms, then?*

CAR. *Ay, and rare ones too; of as many colours as ever you saw any fool's coat in your life. I'll go look among yond bills, an I can fit him with legs to his arms.*

PUNT. *With legs to his arms! Good!*

The heralds' office. See the note on the previous passage.

Cognizance. Badge, cullisen, cullison; see p. 58.

Purchased. Cf. note on "You may buy one," Act I, sc. I. See also, p. 66.

Arms. A complete coat of arms, or heraldic achievement, consists regularly of the escutcheon, or shield, with the crest and other accessories according to the rank of the bearer. See Chapter V., entire. Among the accessories may be marshalled the badge, or cognizance, as are the rose and the crampette in the achievement of Sir Thomas West, Baron Grisley, Figure 15. A badge, or cognizance, as I have said before, was a device worn by all the followers of a house; the family arms, however, might be borne undifferenced only by the head of the house, and, with differences, only by members of the family. Arms and cognizances, therefore, must not be confused.

Colours. Here used in the popular sense, not in the technical sense of one of the three classes of heraldic

the destruction and rebuilding of Derby House in 1666, Dallaway says: "In the general conflagration of the city of London, Derby-House, in which the heralds resided, was destroyed, and the present commodious structure was erected by the munificence of the nobility, assisted by the members of the college, particularly by Sir William Dugdale. Ashmole and Sanford gave copies of pedigrees to those who contributed to its completion, and a large sum of money was collected in pursuance of this plan."—Dallaway, 289.

tinctures. See the blazon of this coat, below.

Fool's coat. An obvious pun upon the motley of the licensed fool.

III, I; Wks, I, 100.

SOGLIARDO. *By this parchement, gentlemen, I have been so toiled among the harrots yonder, you will not believe! they do speak in the strangest language, and give a man the hardest terms for his money, that ever you knew.*

CARLO. *But have you arms, have you arms?*

SOG. *I'faith, I thank them; I can write myself gentleman now; here's my patent, it cost me thirty pound, by this breath.*

PUNTARVOLO. *A very fair coat, well charged, and full of armory.*

SOG. *Nay, it has as much variety of colours in it as you have seen a coat have.*

Harrots. **Heralds.**

Yonder. "At the heralds' office yonder, by Paul's."

See p. 90.

Gentleman. A man entitled to coat-armour; "*armagerens*," in the words of Lord Chief Justice Coke. A man above the rank of yeoman and below that of esquire; or, in a larger sense, any man above the rank of yeoman, including not only the gentry and the nobility, but even the king himself.

My patent, it cost me thirty pound. The king of arms in his province "hath authoritye to give Armes and Crefts to perfons of ability, . . . they to have such graunts by Patent under the Seale of the Office of the King of Armes, and to pay therefore the Fees accustomed." ²⁰

Charged. Bearing charges, or heraldic devices. See p. 26.

²⁰ Thynne's *Discourse*, quoted more fully on page 65.

Colours. Here again, the word "Colours" is used in the non-heraldic sense. The technical equivalent would be "tinctures," including the three classes, "metals," "colours," and "furs." See pp. 14-15.

III, I; Wks, I, 100. (Passage continued.)

SOG. *How like you the crest, sir?*

PUNT. *I understand it not well, what is't?*

SOG. *Marry, sir, it is your boar without a head, rampant. A boar without a head, that's very rare!*

CAR. *Ay, and rampant too! troth, I commend the herald's wit, he has decyphered him well: a swine without a head, without brain, wit, anything indeed, ramping to gentility.*

Crest. That heraldic emblem which, in a complete coat of arms, is borne, upon a wreath or coronet, above the helmet which, in turn, surmounts the shield. See p. 50, and Figures 14, 15, and 18.

Boar. In heraldry, one of the common charges, representing the wild beast of that name, and usually blazoned as passant, i. e., walking, with the head in profile, as in the crest in the "Achievement of a Knight," Fig. 14, p. 53.

Without a head. Compare, Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, IV, II: "You do give for your creast a wood-cockes head, with the braines pickt out on't; you are a very ancient gentleman."

Ay, and rampant too! Rampant means standing upon the hind legs, as the lion in Figure 5, p. 25. See also p. 53. "And here," says Legh, "you shall have one rule, you shall not fet forth any beaft in Armes, to do anything againft his kind, as a horfe to Rampe."²¹ A swine, . . . ramping to gentility!

²¹ Legh, Fol. 53 b.

III, I; Wks, I, 100. (Passage continued.)

CAR. *You can blazon the rest, signior, can you not !*

SOG. *O, ay, I have it in writing here of purpose ; it costs me two shillings the tricking.*

CAR. *Let's hear, let's hear.*

PUNT. *It is the most vile, foolish, absurd, palpable, and ridiculous escutcheon that ever this eye surviced. . . .*

SOG. (reads.) *"Gyrony of eight pieces, azure and gules ; between three plates, a chevron engrailed chequy, or, vert, and ermins ; on a chief argent, between two ann'lets sable, a boar's head, proper."*

CAR. *How's that ! on a chief argent ?*

SOG. (reads.) *"On a chief argent, a boar's head, proper, between two ann'lets sable."*

CAR. *'Slud, it's a hog's cheek and puddings in a pewter field, this. . . .*

SOG. *How like you them, signior ?*

PUNT. *Let the word be, NOT WITHOUT MUSTARD : your crest is very rare, sir.*

CAR. *A frying-pan to the crest had had no fellow.*

Blazon. To describe in technical heraldic language, as in the passage, "Gyrony of eight pieces, . . . " etc. ; popularly confused with the verb *to emblazon*, meaning to decorate with heraldic figures in colours. See p. 16.

The tricking. A drawing of a coat of arms in outline with pen and ink, with the tinctures indicated merely by abbreviations, as in Figure 17. See also p. 19.

Escutcheon. The shield, which constitutes the principal element in a complete coat of arms, and around which are marshalled the helm, crest, mantlings, supporters, motto, and so forth.

Gyrony of eight pieces. A field divided into eight triangles meeting at the center, and alternating in tincture as specified. See p. 24, and the ninth shield in Figure 4.

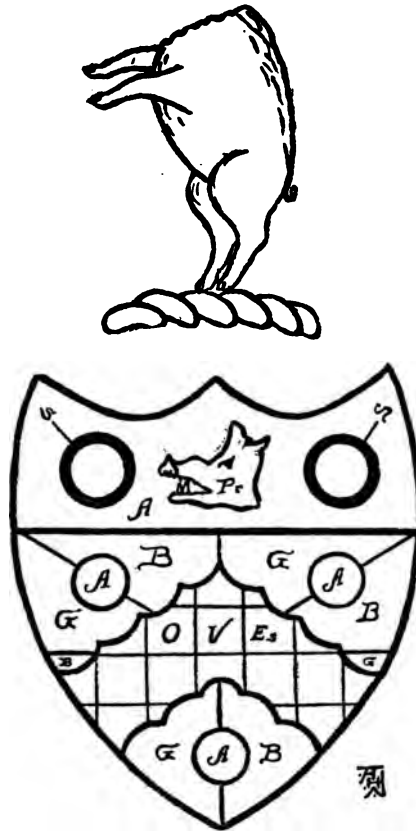


FIGURE 17.

TRICKING OF THE ARMS OF SOGLIARDO.

ARMS: GYRONY OF EIGHT PIECES, AZURE AND GULES; BETWEEN THREE PLATES, A CHEVRON ENGRAILED CHECQVY, OR, VERT, AND ERMINS; ON A CHIEF ARGENT, BETWEEN TWO ANNULETS SABLE, A BOAR'S HEAD PROPER. CREST: A BOAR WITHOUT A HEAD, RAMPANT.

—*Every Man Out of His Humour*, III, I.

Azure. The heraldic colour Blue. See p. 15.

Gules. The heraldic colour Red. See p. 15.

Plates. Roundels argent; circular-shaped charges, of silver. See p. 34.

Chevron. One of the nine Honourable Ordinaries, shaped like an inverted letter "V." See p. 28, and the seventh shield in Figure 6. Peacham says that the Chevron represents "the rafter of an house. Howbeit it be a very honorable bearing, yet it is never seene in the coate of a King or Prince because it pertaineth to a Mechanicall profession." ²²

Engrailed. Bounded by lines composed of a succession of concave curves.

Chequy. Divided into small squares of alternate tinctures, as in a chess-board. Compare the arms of La-Foole, p. 80; and see the Frontispiece and Figure 18.

Or. The heraldic metal Gold. See p. 15.

Vert. The heraldic colour Green. See p. 15.

Ermins. The heraldic fur, black with white spots; as distinguished from Ermine, white fur with black spots, and from Erminois, black fur with gold spots. See p. 15.

Chief. One of the nine Honourable Ordinaries, consisting of the upper third of the field. See p. 27 and the second shield in Figure 6. According to Peacham, "The Chiefe is so called of the French word *Chiefe*, and that from the Greek κεφάλη, which is the head or upper part." ²³ Perhaps, then, Jonson would imply that, though Sogliardo is not literally headless, yet his head contains nothing better than hog's cheek and puddings served in pewter.

²² Peacham: *The Gentleman's Exercise*, 1634, p. 146. ²³ Peacham: *The Compleat Gentleman*, p. 436. Peacham's Greek is open to amendment, but I have let it stand.

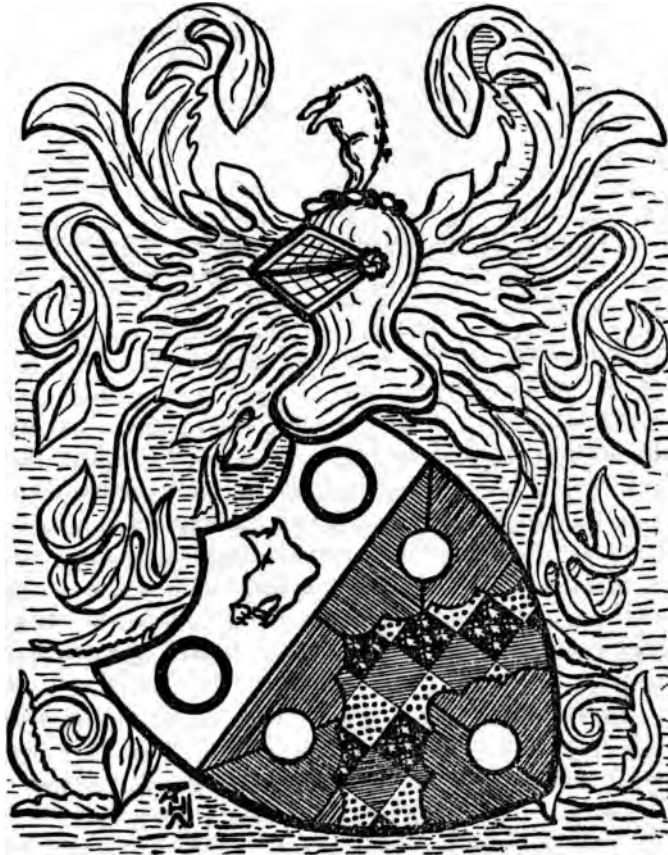


FIGURE 18.

THE ARMS OF SOGLIARDO.

ARMS: GYRONY OF EIGHT PIECES, AZURE AND GULES; BETWEEN THREE PLATES, A CHEVRON ENGRAILED CHECQUY, OR, VERT, AND ERMINS; ON A CHIEF ARGENT, BETWEEN TWO ANNULETS SABLE, A BOAR'S HEAD PROPER. CREST: A BOAR WITHOUT A HEAD, RAMPANT.

—*Every Man Out of His Humour*, III, I.

Argent. The heraldic metal Silver. See p. 15.

Ann'lets. Annulets, rings; sometimes blazoned as "false roundels." See p. 30.

Sable. The heraldic colour Black. See p. 15.

Proper. In its natural colors. See p. 18.

The word. The motto, usually placed in a scroll below the shield. See p. 52.

Summary: The Arms of Sogliardo. See Figure 18.

In Sogliardo, Jonson drew "an essential clown, . . . so enamoured of the name of a gentleman that he will have it though he buys it." ²⁴ The heralds took measure of him, and made him a coat of arms to fit. Had they given him for a crest a boar passant, such as that in the "Achievement of a Knight," Figure 14, their selection would have had no special meaning. But when they gave him a boar without a head, ay, and rampant too,—a position highly improper for a boar, whether in heraldry or in society,—then immediately they made the crest significant. That Jonson intended the boar's head and annulets on a chief argent to be interpreted as "hog's cheek and puddings in a pewter field," appears from Carlo's comment. Less evident is the possible significance of their position; yet, in view of the derivation of the term "chief" cited above, Jonson may well have purposed some satiric implication as to the content of Sogliardo's *head*. As for the rest of this escutcheon, the gyrony of eight pieces charged with three plates and a chevron chequy, is but an elaborate motley "of as many colours as ever you saw any fool's coat in your life." Lest the student should fail to visualize this medley, I present, as Figure 18, a drawing of the arms. The whole passage is a satire upon the granting of arms to the unworthy,—“these mushroom gentlemen, that shoot up in a night to place and worship.”

²⁴ *E. M. O.*, "The Character of the Persons," *Wks*, I, 63.

THE MAGNETIC LADY.

Requires no annotation.

MORTIMER, THE FALL OF.

Requires no annotation.

THE NEW INN.

II, II; Wks, II, 354.

*They relish not the gravity of an host
Who should be king at arms, and ceremonies,
In his own house.*

King at arms. An heraldic officer of the highest grade. In Jonson's day, as now, the three kings of arms in the Heralds' College were entitled Garter, Clarencieux, and Norroy. Their duties as *Cæremoniarum ministri* are enumerated in my quotation from Dodridge, page 64.

The other heraldic passages in this play require no annotation. For the sake of completeness, however, I have included them in my Heraldic Concordance, beyond.

THE POETASTER.

I, I; Wks, I, 212.

They [the actors] forget they are in the statute, the rascals; they are blazoned there; there they are tricked, they and their pedigrees; they need no other heralds, I wiss.

Blazoned. Described in heraldic language. See p. 16. Dr. H. S. Mallory, in his edition of *the Poetaster*, p. 149, corrects Gifford's note that "To blazon is to set forth a coat of arms in its proper colours."

Tricked. Drawn in outline. See p. 19.

II, I; Wks, I, 218.

CRISPINUS. *Yet, I pray you, vouchsafe the sight of my arms, mistress; for I bear them about me to have*

them seen. My name is CRISPINUS, or CRI-SPINAS indeed; which is well expressed in my arms: a face crying in chief; and beneath it a bloody toe, between three thorns pungent.

In chief. Within the upper third of the shield; but not—as in the arms of Sogliardo—*on* a chief. See p. 23.

Pungent. "Pungent is to be taken literally: *piercing*. It is an imitation of such common heraldic words as 'rampant' and 'couchant'."—Mallory, 162.

The relation of the arms of Crispinus to the arms or name of the poet Marston has called forth so much discussion that I can do justice to it only by quotation.

Mr. F. G. Fleay accounts the bloody toe a pun upon the name of Marston. "Marston as well as Crispinus is here indicated. *Mars* is red or bloody (compare *Mars ochre*) and *toen* is toes: together forming Marston."²⁵

Dr. B. Nicholson thinks the arms of Crispinus a caricature of the arms of Marston. "Of all whom Jonson attacked in his *Poetaster*, Marston was the only one of gentle blood. Partly therefore the better to mark him out, partly because Marston seems to have been fond of parading it, and partly perhaps because Jonson would exhibit him as a sorry specimen of his class, his gentility is brought forward, frequently, prominently, and distinctively. On the occasion in question, Crispinus, having asserted it, says:—

" 'You shall see mine arms if't please you, . . . mistress, for I bear them about me, to have 'em seen: my name is Crispinus, or Cri-spinas indeed; which is well exprest in my arms,—a face crying, in chief; and beneath it, a bloody toe between three thorns pungent.' "

"Now this latter part is merely a grotesque description of the true arms of Marston—a fesse ermine between

²⁵ Fleay: *Shakespeare Manual*, 1878, p. 312.

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three fleurs-de-lis argent. As, however, it would have been too perilous in those days of old gentility to ridicule too closely or markedly an honoured heraldic device, Jonson, with viciously spiteful malice, added in chief 'a face crying' and in so doing managed to mark out his opponent more distinctively. It may have been suggested to him by the long melancholy face of the greyhound which is, I believe, the Marston Crest; but it was an addition which became as it were a new and personal grant to the holder in recognition of his glorious achievement, in that he, the upholder of the honour of an old coat, had taken, like Decker, a public beating. . . ."²⁶

The Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, in his edition of the poems of Marston, declines to accept Dr. Nicholson's ingenious explanation. He quotes a letter from Dr. Nicholson in support of the theory that "the fesse dancettée and three fleurs-de-lis in Marston's arms gave rise to Jonson's conceit and parody 'a bloody toe between three thorns'," and then he promptly dismisses the whole argument with the two words "I doubt."²⁷

Dr. H. S. Mallory, in his recent edition of the play, states his own opinion thus: "Dr. Nicholson's conjecture that the Marston arms did really suggest to Jonson his 'canting coat' for Crispinus, is, considering Jonson's love of accuracy in details and his fondness for pun and allegory, quite reasonable—far more so than Fleay's guess. But it is likely that the possession of a basis in fact was sufficient for Jonson, and that he was careless whether more than a few wits in the audience even so much as imagined the possibility of an explanation."²⁸

As for my own opinion on this matter, I hold Dr. Nicholson's explanation to be improbable; Mr. Fleay's

²⁶ *Notes and Queries*: 4th Ser., VII, 469. ²⁷ *The Poems of John Marston . . . edited . . . by the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart. . . . 1879. Introduction, p. v.* ²⁸ Mallory, 162.

possible; and a still simpler explanation to be more reasonable than either. The first question is, has it been proved that the poet and dramatist John Marston was entitled to the arms described by Dr. Nicholson? Dr. Nicholson not only fails to cite his authorities, but is somewhat indefinite in his blazon, especially as to the crest. The dramatist, we know, was the eldest son of John Marston, Esq., who was the third son of Ralph Marston of Heyton, in Shropshire. Burke in his *Encyclopædia of Heraldry*, assigns to Marston of "Eastcot and Heyton, co. Salop," (i. e. Shropshire), the arms: "Sa., a fesse dancettée erm., betw. three fleurs-de-lis ar.; *Crest*—A demi-greyhound sa., gorged with a collar dancettée erm." Is this the coat that Dr. Nicholson means? With him rests the responsibility of definition. Has the identity of the families been proved beyond dispute? The burden of proof rests with Dr. Nicholson.

But aside from the identity of the families, a second question arises: Do these arms, either as blazoned by Burke or as loosely described by Dr. Nicholson, really resemble "a face crying in chief, and beneath it a bloody toe, between three thorns pungent"? If Dr. Nicholson has discovered a Marston crest that is literally the "long melancholy face of a greyhound," then a portion of his comparison will hold good; but a "demi-greyhound" is not a greyhound's face, and moreover even the face of the demi-greyhound would appear only in profile. And in what does "Sable, a fesse dancettée ermine between three fleurs-de-lis argent" resemble a bloody toe between three thorns pungent? Nowise in the tinctures; nowise in the form. Solely in the number and position of the charges, a similarity common to many hundred coats. Taken in its entirety, the arms of Crispinus have slight resemblance to the arms of Marston. (Figure 19).

More probable, in my opinion, is the explanation of Mr. Fleay. Mars is one of the heraldic terms for Gules, red, (See p. 17) ; and if Jonson or any member of his audience started out to pun upon the name of Marston, he might well enough arrive at Mars-ton, Mars-toen, Red-toe, Bloody-toe. If, as Dr. Mallory suggests, Jonson was careless whether more than a few wits in the audience should suspect the pun, then we may accept this explanation of Mr. Fleay's as possible. The pun is, at all events, perceptible ; the resemblance between Crispinas' arms and Marston's is not.



FIGURE 19.
ALLEGED ARMS OF THE POET MARSTON.

Given, an audience expecting a satire upon Marston ; construct arms and a name to fit the character. If this was Jonson's problem, his solution, in my opinion, *may* have been as follows : The name of Marston may have suggested the bloody toe, and that, in turn, the thorns pungent. Marston's public whipping may, with greater probability, have suggested the crying face. These

arms once determined, the name follows. The thorns and the crying face would suggest *Cri-spinas*, and thence, Crispinus.

But are we certain that Jonson's satire ran so deep? May he not have chosen the name Crispinus at random, and then have designed a "canting" coat to fit?

V, I; Wks, I, 253.

Does not Cæsar give the eagle?

Give. Bear, as an heraldic device. See p. 13.

Eagle. See p. 31.

To interpret Cæsar's eagle as an heraldic bearing is quite in accord with the popular authorities of Jonson's day. Modern investigators are content to ascribe the origin of heraldry to the period of the crusades; but my authority Gerard Legh insists that the "lawes" of "armorye . . . were before the siege of Troye, as appeareth in Deuteronomion. . . . It muſt bee very auncient. For fieſde and feight cannot bee continued without lawe, victorye alone being the lawemaker, who was 900 yeres before the ſiege of Troye. . . . Thaye were warriours, and therefore ſaye I, bearers of armes."²⁹ In further proof of this statement, Legh then blazons with care the arms of the Nine Worthies, Josua, Hector, David, Alexander, Judas Machabeus, Julius Cesar, King Arthure, Charlemayne, and Syr Gwy, Earle of Warwicke. "The fixte," he says, "was Julius Cefar, who bare Or, an Eagle diſplayed with ii heddes Sable."³⁰

THE SAD SHEPHERD.

Requires no annotation.

SEJANUS, HIS FALL.

Requires no annotation.

²⁹ Legh, Fol. 21 b. ³⁰ Legh, Fol. 22 b - 23 a.

THE SILENT WOMAN.

See: *Epicæne, or The Silent Woman.*

THE STAPLE OF NEWS.

Dramatis Personae; Wks, II, 278.

Piedmantle, pursuivant at arms and heraldet.

Pursuivant at arms. One of the four members of the third, or lowest, grade in the Heralds' College. See p. 62.

Piedmantle. In this character, Jonson satirizes the unworthy element in the Heralds' College,—not "their callings, but their manners and their vices."³¹ The name "Piedmantle" was obviously suggested by "Blue-mantle," the title borne by one of the four pursuivants of arms. That it was intended, however, as a personal attack on Samson Lennard, the Blue-mantle pursuivant of that day, does not follow.

I, II; Wks, II, 287-8. Winter, I, VI, 1-13.

PICKLOCK. *How does the heir, bright Master Pennyboy?*

*Is he awake yet in his one and twenty?—
Why, this is better far than to wear cypress,
Dull smutting gloves, or melancholy blacks,
And have a pair of twelvepenny broad ribands,
Laid out like labels.*

PENNYBOY, JUN. *I should have made shift,
To have laughed as heartily in my mourner's hood,
As in this suit, if it had pleased my father
To have been buried with the trumpeters.*

PICK. *The heralds of arms, you mean.*

P. JUN. *I mean
All noise that is superfluous!*

PICK. *All that idle pomp
And vanity of a tombstone, your wise father
Did by his will prevent.*

³¹ S. of N., IV, I; Wks, II, 324.

Labels. That the word "labels" is here used in its heraldic sense, as defined page 32, is possible, but not inevitable. The word was applied, at this period, to the ribbons pendant from various parts of the dress or from a legal document. Still, in view of Jonson's immediate mention of the heralds, four lines below, it is just possible that he was thinking of the heraldic label. Whoever prefers an heraldic interpretation may, if he likes, advance this argument: the label, in heraldry, is the difference of the eldest son, (See p. 35); and Picklock, in addressing Pennyboy, has in mind this mark of cadency, which Pennyboy, having just succeeded his father late deceased, is now privileged to remove from his escutcheon.

Buried with the trumpeters. The technical phrase, as in the record quoted on page 71, is "buried with heralds."

To superintend the burial of nobility and gentry, to marshal the "hatchment" of the deceased, to act as master of ceremonies at his funeral, and to record at the Heralds' Office his name, titles, descent, marriage, and issue, was one of the most important duties of the officers of arms. For these services, their fees and their incidental perquisites were large, and their monopoly was jealously guarded. No wonder that Pennyboy and others began to think that to be buried with heralds was "noise that is superfluous"!

In Chapter VI, I have quoted contemporary documents to show the duties of the heralds on these occasions, the frequency of their services, and the high fees which they exacted. I shall here present merely an extract from Noble's *History of the College of Arms* to show why, in this play, written between 1621 and 1626, ³²

³² See discussion of the date, Winter, xviii-xx.

an attack upon heraldic funerals would seem, to Jonson's audience, especially timely and agreeable:—

“By an order of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal, made in the year 1618, a regulation was made respecting the fees appointed to be paid by all degrees to the officers at arms, for registering their funeral certificates; and the prices for all funeral work were settled. . . . The splendor which had been so great at funerals began to subside: the expense was burdensome to the relatives. The custom of burying the dead late in the evening succeeded it: alarmed at the consequences, the kings, heralds, and pursuivants presented a petition to Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting that a stop might be put to the practice, especially among the higher orders. . . . We have at least one instance where the heralds obtained satisfaction for a funeral being marshalled and ordered without their knowledge or approbation; for on January 19, 1618-19, Lewis Conquest, the younger son of — Conquest, executor of his will, and his eldest brother, were brought before the delegates for the office of the Earl Marshal, because they had set forth their father's funeral without consulting the heralds and had placed the arms of the defunct in the church; for which the delegates, after centuring, ordered them to pay £10 to the College, repay the journey of York herald,³³ and give Clarendieux,³⁴ in whose province the funeral had been solemnized, £2.”³⁵

For a further discussion of heraldic funerals, see pages 65-6 and pages 70-72. For a full description of an heraldic funeral, see the ceremonial used when Edward, Earl of Derby, was interred in 1574, from Anstis's Collections; Dallaway, 249 *et seq.* Dr. Winter's only comment on this passage is in the following: “*Trum-*

³³ Ralph Brooke. ³⁴ William Camden. ³⁵ Noble, 191-92.

peters. Apparently, when a man of rank was buried with ceremony, trumpeters were always a part of the procession. This passage is the only evidence I have found on this point, however."³⁶

II, I; *Wks*, II, 292. Winter, II, II, 20-22.

PIEDMANTLE. *Sir, an apprentice*

*In armory. I have read the Elements,
And Accidence, and all the leading books.*

Armory. Heraldry; or more exactly, that division of the science of heraldry that deals with the blazoning and marshalling of arms.³⁷

The Elements. This book is anonymous; but its dedication is signed with the initials "E. B.," and it seems to have been ascribed without question to Edmond Bolton. Camden, for example, refers in his *Remains* to "Edmond Bolton who learnedly and judiciously hath discovered the first Elements of Armory."³⁸ Its title page reads, *The Elements of Armories. Quem Dixere Chaos. At London, Printed by George Eld. 1610.*

The Accidence. The title page of this book is an elaborate "viniet," enclosing the words: *The Accedens of Armory*. The preface is signed by "Gerard Legh," and the author refers to himself by that name. In the edition that I have used, the book ends with the words: *Imprynted at London in fletestrrete within temple Barre at the signe of the hand & starre, by Richard Tottel, Anno 1576*. The dates of the several editions are: 1562, 1568, 1572, 1576, 1591, 1597, and 1612.³⁹

Dr. Winter, in his note upon this passage, first quotes the description of these two books from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and then adds:

³⁶ Winter, 147. ³⁷ "Armory is an Art rightly prescribing the true Knowledge and Use of Arms. . . . This Skill of Armory consists in Blazoning and Marshalling."—Guillim, 1679, p. 8; 1724, p. 1. ³⁸ Camden: *Remains Concerning Britain*, 1674; Reprint of 1870, p. 248. ³⁹ *D. N. B.*, xxxii, 420.

"Probably Jonson mentions these two works not because they were the prime authorities but because of the obscurity of the one and the discursiveness of the other." Dr. Winter may be correct in his opinion that Jonson is here poking fun at Legh and Bolton; but I question whether many in his audience would deem these authors fit subjects for a jest. Legh and Bolton were taken very seriously in Jonson's day. Legh's *Accedens* was, most emphatically, a "prime authority." I have yet to find a work on heraldry written in this period that does not cite Legh frequently and with respect. As for Bolton's *Elements*, Sir William Segar, Garter king of arms, the ranking officer of the Heralds' College, called this book, under date of April 14th, 1610, "absolutely the best of any in that kind;" and Camden wrote, June 11th, 1609, "I assure you, . . . you haue with that iudicious learning & infight handled Armorie, the subiect of my profeffion, that I cannot but approue it, as both learnedly and diligently difcouered." These quotations, to be sure, are from letters to the author prefixed to the book in question; but that Camden, at least, expressed his real opinion, is evident from the passage that I quoted above from his *Remains*. And as for Jonson, would he have poked fun at the friend who had contributed complimentary verses in Latin for his *Volpone*, 1605?

II, I; Wks, II, 292. Winter, II, II, 39-41.

BROKER. . . . *Sir, you may see
How for your love and this so pure complexion
(A perfect sanguine) I have ventured thus.*

Sanguine. On this passage, Dr. Winter remarks:—"Broker refers to Pyedmantle's gown. Probably, as the specific *this* suggests, he touches the garment. The tincture *vert* is indicated by diagonal lines crossing the field or surface of the escutcheon, from dexter chief to

sinister base, and the tincture *purpure* by diagonal lines from sinister chief to dexter base ; the combination of the two indicates the tincture *murrey* or *sanguine*, once used occasionally, but now discarded in most countries. Piedmantle's gown is variegated in green and purple squares to represent the tincture sanguine. Hence also his name. Probably, too, there is a personal reference. Perhaps some prominent herald of the day was of a sanguine complexion."⁴⁰

This note of Dr. Winter's is such midsummer madness that I scarcely know what to say of it. In the first place, what of his logic? His premise is correct ; it is true that, in modern usage, dexter diagonal lines indicate vert, or green, that sinister diagonal lines indicate purpure, or purple, and that a combination of the two



FIGURE 20.

MODERN DEVICE FOR REPRESENTING VERT, PURPURE,
AND SANGUINE.

indicates sanguine, or murrey. See Figure 20. But what then? Because the *symbol* for vert plus the *symbol* for purpure results in the *symbol* for sanguine, does it follow that the *colour* vert plus the *colour* purpure (arranged in alternate squares) will result in the *colour* sanguine? The fallacy is evident.

⁴⁰ Winter, 156.

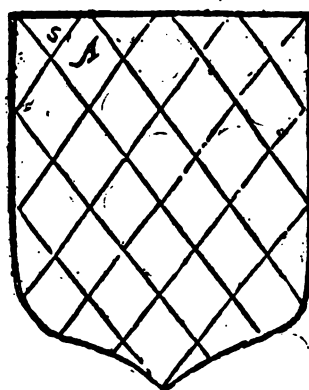
In the second place, Dr. Winter assumes that these devices, which he first shows to be the symbols of colours, themselves possess colour; that is, that by combining these sets of diagonal lines he can produce "green and purple squares." The fact is, of course, that this modern device of representing tinctures by means of lines and dots, as in Figure 20, above, and in my drawing of the Arms of Sogliardo, Figure 18, is merely a substitute for the earlier form of tricking described in Chapter II, (page 19), the device, namely, of indicating the tinctures in a drawing by means of abbreviations as in Figure 17. Such devices are intended for use in outline drawings, in pen-and-ink sketches, in engravings, and in other designs permitting the use of only black and white. If then, this combination of diagonal lines was used on Piedmantle's gown "to represent the tincture sanguine," it would result not in "green and purple squares," but merely in intersecting black lines. In short, Dr. Winter's assumption is contrary to fact.

Third, what does Dr. Winter mean in saying that his green and purple squares "represent" the tincture sanguine? Does he mean that the tincture sanguine is *itself* a patchwork of green and purple? If he does, he is mistaken; for sanguine is not "pied," but is a plain, solid colour, dull blood-red, or brown. Or does he mean that the *device*, or *symbol*, of the tincture sanguine is identical with this patchwork of green and purple? If he does, he is equally mistaken; for what he has conceived, squares formed by intersecting oblique lines and colored alternately green and purple, (compare Figure 21), has in heraldry a very different name, to wit, "Lozengy vert and purple." By neither interpretation, then, can Dr. Winter's green and purple squares "represent" the tincture sanguine.

Fourthly, is there any evidence that this device of indicating tinctures by means of lines and dots was in use in England when this play was written? Planché, says that it "is said to have been the invention of an Italian, Father Silvestre de Petra Sancta; and the earliest instance of its application in England, the engraving of the death-warrant of Charles I, to which the seals of the subscribing parties are represented attached."⁴¹ Planché reproduces an illustration of this method used in Sir

of Armory.

Fo. 92



The ninth.
Hee beareth Losengye, Ar-
gent and Sable. Though
this shoulde appere, to bee
Bend counter Bende; yet is
it so blazed. Like as ye haue
this Losengy, so maye you
haue Masculy, and fufuly, of
which sorte, some examples
shall followe profitable for
your learning.

FIGURE II.

A SHIELD LOZENGY.

FROM LEGH'S ACCEDENS OF ARMORY, 1576, FOLIO 92 A.

Edward Bysshe's edition of Upton, 1654; but this makes no provision either for purpure or for sanguine. My own search for evidence has assured me that this device of lines and dots was not used by Legh, edition of 1676; by Ferne, 1586; by Bolton, 1610; in the *Mirroure of Majesty*, 1618; by Peacham, 1634 and 1661; by Carter,

⁴¹ Planché, 39-40.

1655; nor in the 1679 edition of Guillim save in those plates which, according to Dallaway,⁴² were added, in that edition, by the bookseller Blome. I cannot believe that Jonson, or Jonson's audience, or the heralds of Jonson's day, had ever heard of indicating vert by diagonal lines, or purpure by diagonal lines, or sanguine by a combination of the two.

But even if we grant Dr. Winter's assumption that Jonson knew this device of dots and lines, we are still left in the following dilemma:—

(1) If, as Dr. Winter asserts, Piedmantle is so named because his gown is "pied," then his gown is not "sanguine," and the word "complexion" in the text does not refer, as Dr. Winter would have it, to the color of the gown.

(2) If the word "complexion" does refer to the color of the gown, then the gown is sanguine, or murrey, not pied green and purple; and the gown will not account, as Dr. Winter would have it, for the name of Piedmantle.

For myself, I accept unhesitatingly the former alternative. I see no way of determining what the several colors of the mantle were; but I am perfectly willing to admit that it was "pied," for Jonson would delight in presenting this heraldet in motley. But I see no need of treating "sanguine" in this passage as an heraldic term, or as referring in any way to the mantle. The word "sanguine" refers rather to the complexion of Piedmantle's face; and the passage, freely interpreted, means no more than this: "Sir, you may see how I have ventured, because of my love for you and your good looks."

II, I; Wks, II, 301. Winter, II, V, 93-94.

*He is my nephew, and my chief, the point,
Tip, top, and tuft of all our family.*

⁴² Dallaway, 247.

Chief. That Jonson is here punning upon the heraldic word "chief," seems probable from the context. The "chief" in heraldry is one of the nine "honorable ordinaries," and consists of the upper third, that is, of the *top* of the escutcheon. See p. 27, and the second shield in Figure 6.

IV, I; Wks, II, 321. Winter, IV, IV, 1.

Enter Piedmantle with Pecunia's pedigree.

Pedigree. Pennyboy Junior, in lines 29-30 of this scene, describes this pedigree as a "scroll," "rarely painted." From the previous conversation, I infer that it displayed Pecunia's several lines of descent, traced back for many generations, and, with each line, its appropriate coat of arms. In Chapter IV, (See p. 46), I have attempted to reconstruct Pecunia's pedigree, not for its own sake, but to illustrate another matter. Jonson's statements are too few and too uncertain to provide a basis for more than guess-work. In Chapter VI, (See p. 68), I have referred to the duties of the heralds as genealogists. They preserved the pedigrees of all families entitled to coat armour, and they kept these records complete by making "Visitations" to each county at frequent intervals. They furnished, to members of the nobility and gentry so desiring, certified copies of their pedigrees; and from this source, the heralds derived a considerable income. Piedmantle would scarcely have sold this pedigree for a kiss, had it not been the kiss of the Lady *Pecunia*.

IV, I; Wks, II, 321-2. Winter, IV, IV, 1-33.

Gifford's contemptuous note upon this passage, in regard to the heraldic and alchemical terms in Jonson, is well worth reproducing:—

"It would not have been a matter of difficulty, though of considerable labour," says Gifford, "to furnish

some kind of explanation of all the technical terms which occur in the remainder of this scene; but it would still be a thankless office. No one, I should suppose, would even dwell for a moment on such an uninteresting muster-roll of hard words: and in fact if any prodigy of patience and curiosity should inquire after their sense, and learn that *tasselled of the first* means of the first colour 'because heraldry abhors to repeat the name,' . . . he would not, I suspect, find himself very far advanced in the science of heraldry. . . . Jonson, who was not only possessed of as much learning but of as much general knowledge as any man of his time, undoubtedly understood them all: the general reader, however, will do well to content himself (like the Prodigal) with saying 'they sound well,' and pass on."³

What Gifford here missed entirely is the fact that, without exception, every technical term in the passage he assails contributes directly and materially to Jonson's satirical allegory. Since the Lady Pecunia is wealth personified, Jonson naturally derives her from the Duke of Or, i.e., gold. For an earlier ancestor, he provides one Sol, whose name is identical with another heraldic term for the same metal; and as family arms, "azure, a Sun proper." To another line, he gives "Bezants," lumps of gold, or, according to other authorities, gold coins of Byzantium; and to a third, a coat in which, for the sake of extravagance, he even twice breaks the heraldic rule against placing metal upon metal: "argent, three leeks vert, in canton or, tasselled of the first." In this passage also, as if for good measure, Jonson throws in a "local gag" regarding the Welshman's devotion to the leek.

IV, I; Wks, II, 321. Winter, IV, IV, 5-13.

PECUNIA. *My pedigree?*

I tell you, friend, he must be a good scholar

³ Gifford's note on *S. of N.*, IV, I; Wks, II, 322.

*Can my descent: I am of princely race;
 And as good blood as any is in the mines
 Runs through my veins. I am every limb a princess!
 Duchess of Mines was my great grandmother;
 And by the father's side, I come from Sol;
 My grandfather was Duke of Or, and matched
 In the blood-royal of Ophir.*

Sol. In Jonson's day there were several methods of blazoning tinctures. The usual method was by the now familiar names of metals and colours, as Or, Argent, Gules, Azure, and so on. A second method was by the names of precious stones: Topaz, Pearl, Ruby, Sapphire, and so forth. A third was by the names of planets, as Sol, Luna, Mars, and Jupiter. This third method was usually reserved for blazoning the arms of kings and princes. ⁴⁴ "Sol," therefore, as used in the foregoing passage, is significant for two reasons: first, because it signifies *gold*, and second, because it is the *royal* term for gold. See under "The Blazon of Tinctures," page 17. Dr. Winter says, in his Glossary, that the term "Sol" is "used in blazing planets." Let us hope that this error is his printer's.

In his Introduction, Dr. Winter speaks of Pecunia as having "an alchemical genealogy and significance." ⁴⁵ As heraldry and alchemy borrow much of their nonsense from the same sources, the assertion need not be here disputed. But co-ordinate with the alchemical significance is the heraldic one. Indeed, the very names "Sol" and "Duke of Or" seem but a paraphrase of those in the imaginary pedigree presented in Legh's *Accedens*; "Sir Iohn Argent hath to his firste wife, the Lady Or, daughter & only heire of the Earle of Geules, by whō he hath issue a daughter named Azure. . . ." ⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Guillim, 1679, p. 9; 1724, p. 3. ⁴⁵ Winter, Intro., xxi. ⁴⁶ Legh, Fol. 97 b - 98 a.

IV, I; Wks, II, 321. Winter, IV, IV, 13-16.

PIEDMANTLE. *Here is his coat.*

PECUNIA. *I know it if I hear the blazon.*

PIE. *He bears*

*In a field azure, a sun proper, beamy,
Twelve of the second.*

Coat. Arms; coat of arms; here, that portion of the coat of arms that is borne upon the shield. See p. 13.

Blazon. Description in heraldic language, as the reply of Piedmantle in this passage. See p. 16.



FIGURE 22.

AZURE, A SUN.

FROM LEGH'S ACCEDENS OF ARMORY, 1576, FOLIO 58 B.

Bears. To display or exhibit heraldically, of right. See p. 13. The expression "He bears" is a literal translation of the corresponding term in French heraldry, "il porte."

Field. The surface of the heraldic shield. See p. 13.

Azure. The heraldic colour Blue. See p. 15

A sun. The heraldic sun is regularly represented as a human face surrounded by rays. See p. 35, and Figure 22 above.

Proper. In its natural colour; here Or. See p. 18.

This passage is either a bad "break" by Jonson, or else a capital bit of sly characterization. Young Piedmantle, by whom the words are spoken, has boasted that he has "read the Elements and the Accidence, and all the leading books;" ⁴⁷ but now, in blazoning the sun as "proper," he is violating a rule of his own chosen authority: "Hee beareth," says Legh, "Azure, a Sunne Or. . . . In this cote hee is in proper colour, & in his naturall field. . . . And wherefore do ye not say proper colour or that the Sunne is of his proper colour? . . . Alciatus sayth that a mā shal discern colour, if he may cōe within a knightes rafe of any bāner, but I neuer hard of any man that came within an hundred knightes rafes of the Sunne." ⁴⁸ Guillim goes a step farther, and maintains that "for the Sun and Stars, when they be of the colour of the metal Or, which is their natural colour, it fufficeth to say, a Sun, or Star, without adding the word Proper, or Or." ⁴⁹ See p. 18.

Beamy. Having beams, or rays, usually represented as alternately straight and wavy. As Guillim says, "Who knoweth not that the chiefeft glory and higheft commendation that may be given to the Sun doth confift in this, that he is beautified with the brightnefs of his proper beams?" ⁵⁰

Twelve. .i.e., twelve beams.

Of the second. Of the second tincture named; in this case, proper. To mention a tincture more than once by name was accounted awkward blazoning. See p. 18.

IV, I; Wks, II, 322. Winter, IV, IV, 18-22.

PECUNIA. *What be these?—Bezants?*

PIEDMANTLE. *Yes, an't please your grace.*

⁴⁷ *S. of N.*, II, I; *Wks*, II, 292. ⁴⁸ Legh, Fol. 58 b. ⁴⁹ Guillim, 1629, p. 117; see also, 1679, p. 10, and 1724, p. 8. ⁵⁰ Guillim, 1679, p. 82; 1724, p. 90.

PEC. *That is our coat too, as we come from Or.
What line is this?*

PIE. *The rich mines of Potosi,
The Spanish mines in the West Indies.*

PEC. *This?*

PIE. *The mines of Hungary, this of Barbary.*

Bezants. Roundels or. Among the common charges is a group of round devices called collectively the Roundels. A roundel Or is called a Bezant; a roundel Argent, a Plate; and so on, a distinct name for every change of tincture.⁵¹ Of the Bezant, Legh says: "This is a tallante which conteineth of Troye weight a hūdred fower pounde and two oūces, and is a lumpe of gold the valewe wereof is 3750 pounds efterling. Of these beifauntes you shal rede diuerflye in Scripture, as when Salomon had geuen vnto Hiram xx Cities, he againe, of good harte, gaue Salomon 120 beifauntes of golde, whereof these took their firste name."⁵² See p. 30.

IV, I; Wks, II, 322. Winter, IV, IV, 23-26.

PECUNIA. *But this, this little branch?*

PIEDMANTLE. *The Welsh mine that.*

PEC. *I have Welsh blood in me too; blaze, sir, that coat.*

PIE. *She bears, an't please you, argent, three leeks vert,*

In canton or, tasselled of the first.

Blaze. To blazon; to describe in heraldic language. See p. 16.

Bears. To bear; to display heraldically, of right. See p. 13.

Argent. The heraldic metal Silver. See p. 15. The tincture first named is always that of the field. See p. 16.

⁵¹ Legh, Fol. 86 b. ⁵² Ibid, Fol, 87 a.

Three leeks. The leek is a culinary vegetable of the onion family. The edible portion is cylindrical in shape, and it sends up a long stalk bearing a white flower. It is the emblem of Wales, as the thistle is that of Scotland, and the shamrock that of Ireland; but I have found no mention of it in works on heraldry. In literature it is perhaps best known from Shakspeare's Fluellen in *King Henry V*:—

Fluellen. Your majesty says very true: if your majesty is remembered of it, the Welshmen did good service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps; which, your majesty know, to this hour is an honourable badge of the service; and I do believe your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon Saint Tavy's day.

King Henry. I wear it for a memorable honour; For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman. ⁵³

For further consideration of the Leek, see p. 33.

Vert. The heraldic colour Green. See p. 15.

Canton. An heraldic charge, ranked by Legh among the Ordinaries Generall. ⁵⁴ It is a rectangular figure filling the dexter chief, similar to the Quarter, but smaller. It is illustrated in the coat that occupies the sixth quarter of the arms in Figure 13, p. 48. See also p. 29.

Or. The heraldic metal Gold. See p. 15. For the rule against placing colour upon colour, or metal upon metal, see p. 20. Jonson's violation of this rule, in placing on a field argent a canton or, and again in placing on this canton or, leeks tasselled argent, i.e. in twice placing metal upon metal, is, of course, deliberate. Indeed, the violation of a rule so familiar to his audience would give additional point to Jonson's allegory. That this rule was thus thoroughly familiar, appears, if other evidence were

⁵³ *King Henry, V.*, IV, VII, 100-108. See also Act V, sc. I. ⁵⁴ Legh, Fol. 70 a.

wanting, in the following passage from his *Cynthia's Revels*:—

What, lay colour upon colour! That affords but an
ill blazon.

Here comes metal to help it, the Lady Argurion. ⁵⁵

Tasselled of the first. Having tassels of the tincture first mentioned in the blazon,—here, Argent. See p. 18. As I have mentioned above, the leek bears a white flower.

IV, I; Wks, II, 323. Winter, IV, IV, 101.

And Piedmantle shall give us all our arms.

Give . . . arms. Concerning the power of the heralds to grant and to confirm arms, see pages 64, 65, 66-67.

IV, I; Wks, II, 324. Winter, IV, IV, 150-159.

Here is Piedmantle;

*'Cause he's an ass, do not I love a herald,
Who is the pure preserver of descents,
The keeper fair of all nobility,
Without which all would run into confusion?
Were he a learned herald I would tell him
He can give arms and marks, he cannot honour;
No more than money can make noble: it may
Give place and rank, but it can give no virtue:
And he would thank me for this truth.*

Do not I love a herald. This passage has been generally accepted as a tribute to Jonson's "most learned and . . . honoured friend," ⁵⁶ William Camden, Esq., Clarendieux. ⁵⁷ The passage is at least significant as defining Jonson's attitude toward the heralds and heraldry of his day.

The pure preserver of descents. For the duties of the heralds as genealogists, see page 68.

⁵⁵ *Cynthia's Revels*, II, I; Wks, I, 162. ⁵⁶ *Every Man In His Humour*, Dedication; Wks, I, 1. ⁵⁷ Winter, 211.

The keeper fair of all nobility. The heralds were authorized to prevent or prohibit any violation of the laws of arms and chivalry, as, for example, the assumption of coat armour or of the style of "Gentleman" without right. See p. 65.

IV, I; Wks, II, 325. Winter, 4th Intermean, 58-60.

No, I would have Master Piedmantle, her grace's herald, to pluck down his hatchments, reverse his coat-armour, and nullify him for no gentleman.

The ceremony of degradation, according to heraldic usage, might be performed as a preliminary punishment in the case of knights about to be executed for treason, or it might, for less grievous offences, constitute the chief part of the penalty. Legh, and Guillim after him, present a drawing of the reversed arms of Sir Amery of Pavy, who betrayed an English castle to the French.⁵⁸ In the reign of Edward II, Andrew de Harclay, Earl of Carlyle, and other rebellious lords were led to execution wearing their coat-armour painted in reverse.⁵⁹ The reversal of the arms, however, was not the full extent of the ceremony. For the punishment of a traitor, "the Laws adjudge not only his Coat-Armour to be razed and his Shield reverfed, but also his Spear trunked, his Spurrs hewen from his Heels, *his Horse docked*, (the italics are my own), his Sword to be broken upon his Helmet, his Creft divided, his Statues pulled down, his Blood corrupted and his Body to death. . . . his Family at an End."⁶⁰

An instance of degradation not followed by the death-penalty was fresh in the public mind when Jonson wrote this play. On May 5th, 1621, Sir Francis Mitchell, knight, "having been convicted of greivous exactions," was sentenced to be degraded from knighthood. On

⁵⁸ Legh, Fol. 73 a - 74 a; Guillim, 1679, p. 31; 1724, p. 459. ⁵⁹ Dallaway, 81-82.

⁶⁰ Guillim, 1679, p. 32; 1724, p. 460.

June 16th, this sentence was executed in the presence of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal, and of the three kings of arms. The sentence was read by a pursuivant; then the culprit's spurs were hacked from his heels, his sword was broken over his head, and the first Commissioner pronounced that Mitchell was no longer a knight but a knave.⁶¹ William Camden, in his capacity as Clarencieux king at arms, participated in this ceremony.⁶²

Hatchments. Achievements of arms. The word is most often applied to the achievement of a deceased person displayed at his funeral.

Coat-armour. Originally, arms emblazoned upon a surcoat to be worn over the armour; thence, arms, however displayed.

Gentleman. A man entitled to coat-armour. Compare the two passages following :—

Carlo. But have you arms, have you arms?
Sogliardo. I'faith, I thank them; I can write
myself gentleman now.⁶³

Myself, a prince by fortune of my birth,
Near to the king in blood,
Have stoop'd my neck under your injuries,
And sigh'd my English breath in foreign clouds,
Eating the bitter bread of banishment;
Whilst you have fed upon my signories,
Dispark'd my parks and fell'd my forest woods,
From my own windows torn my household coat,
Razed out my imprese, leaving me no sign,
Save men's opinions and my living blood,
To show the world I am a gentleman.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Noble, 193. ⁶² *D. N. B.*, VIII, 282. ⁶³ *E. M. O.*, III, I; *Wks*, I, 100.

⁶⁴ *Richard II*, III, I; 16-27.

A TALE OF A TUB.

I, III; Wks, II, 445.

PREAMBLE. . . . *Metaphor, you have seen
A king ride forth in state.*

METAPHOR. *Sir, that I have :
King Edward, our late liege and sovereign lord ;
And have set down the pomp.*

PRE. *Therefore I asked you.
Have you observed the messengers of the chamber,
What habits they were in ?*

MET. *Yes, minor coats,
Unto the guard, a dragon and a greyhound
For the supporters of the arms.*

PRE. *Well marked !
You know not any of them ? . . .
Have you acquaintance with him,
To borrow his coat an hour ? . . .*

MET. *The taberd of his office I will call it,
Or the coat-armour of his place ; and so
Insinuate with him by that trope.*

The messengers of the chamber. The messengers, or warrant-servers, of various courts were called "pursuivants" and, like the pursuivants of the Heralds' College, wore official tabards. In this play, Preamble's clerk, Miles Metaphor, borrows a pursuivant's tabard, and, thus disguised, makes a pretended arrest "in the queen's majesty's name, and all the council's." In this capacity, he is called, repeatedly⁶⁵ a pursuivant, or a pursuivant at arms ; but nothing in the play indicates that he was pretending to be an officer of the Heralds' College.

A dragon and a greyhound. On this passage, Gifford notes : "Henry VII, a prince of the house of Tudor, in memory of their descent from Cadwallader,

⁶⁵ See especially Act II, sc. I ; Wks, II, 454-6.

gave from his first accession the red or rouge dragon (when he also constituted Rouge Dragon poursuivant), for the dexter supporter of his arms, with the greyhound of the house of York on the left." This note of Gifford's leaves the impression that the messengers described by Metaphor bore on their official coats the royal supporters used by King Henry VII. I am not prepared to offer an alternative explanation; but I cannot believe that Gifford's implied interpretation is correct. In the first place, if these messengers wore the *royal* arms upon their tabards, as pursuivants of the king, their tabards would not be referred to as "*minor* coats." In the second place, the royal arms in the reign of King Edward VI did not have the same supporters as the royal arms of Henry VII. Boutell and Aveling give the supporters of the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns thus:—

"Henry VII. : A dragon gu., and a greyhound arg., or two greyhounds arg. ; also a lion or, and a dragon gu.

"Henry VIII. : A lion or, and a dragon gu., and sometimes a bull, a greyhound, or a cock, all argent.

"Edward VI. : A lion or, and a dragon gu.

"Mary and Elizabeth : A lion or, and a dragon gu. or a greyhound arg.

"James I. first bore two lions ; secondly, two unicorns ; and afterwards a lion or, for England, and a unicorn arg., for Scotland. The supporters of the Royal shield of England have remained unchanged since the time of James I." ⁶⁶

According to this list, the dragon and the greyhound have not been used *together* as supporters of the royal arms since the reign of Henry VII. Since that reign, one of the supporters has always been a lion. As I said above, I am not prepared to offer an explanation of this passage ; but as for Gifford's explanation,—“I doubt.”

⁶⁶ B. & A., 318.

Supporters. Figures on either side of an escutcheon in the attitude of upholding or defending it. See p. 54.

Taberd. "Verftegan's words in his antient English Alphabet are these: A *Tabert*, anciently a short gowne, that reached no further then to the mid-legge. In England it is now the name onely of an Herald's Coate."⁶⁷

Coat-armour. Arms emblazoned upon a surcoat, and thence, arms, however displayed.

II, I; Wks, II, 454.

Enter Justice Preamble, and Metaphor disguised as a pursuivant.

Pursuivant. Here, messenger of the council, a warrant-server; not a pursuivant belonging to the Herald's College. See pages 62 and 78.

VOLPONE, OR, THE FOX.

I, I; Wks, I, 342.

MOSCA. *A piece of plate, sir. . . . Huge, Massy, and antique, with your name inscribed And arms engraved.*

Arms. Coat of arms, heraldic achievement. See p. 13.

⁶⁷ Bolton: *The Elements of Armories*, 1610, Fol. Ee 2 [a].

THE MASQUES AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

PART OF KING JAMES'S ENTERTAINMENT IN PASSING TO HIS CORONATION.

Wks, II, 556.

She [Monarchia Britannica] was a woman richly attired in cloth of gold and tissue: a rich mantle; over her state two crowns hanging, with pensile shields through them; the one limned with the particular coat of England, the other of Scotland. On either side also a crown, with the like scutcheons, and peculiar coats of France and Ireland.

The particular coat of England. Gules, three lions passant gardant, in pale, or.

Scotland. Or, within a double tressure flory counter-flory, a lion rampant gules.

France. Azure, three fleurs-de-lis, or. The arms of France were quartered by the kings of England from the reign of Edward III down to the year 1801. See pp. 31-32.

Ireland. Azure, a harp or, stringed argent.

Wks, I, 558-59.

The arms of the kingdom on the one side, . . . on the other side the arms of the city.

The arms of the kingdom. All the Tudor sovereigns had borne: Quarterly, first and fourth quarters, France; second and third quarters, England. Elizabeth occasionally included Ireland. James I, however, added the arms of Scotland and of Ireland; and marshalled the

four coats thus: Quarterly, first and fourth grand quarters, France and England quarterly; second grand quarter, Scotland; third grand quarter, Ireland. As Figure 23, I reproduce the arms of James I, from *The Mirrovr of Maiestie*, 1618.

The arms of the city. Argent, a cross gules; on the dexter chief quarter, a sword (or dagger) erect, of



FIGURE 23.

ARMS OF JAMES I.

REPRODUCED FROM *THE MIRROVR OF MAIESTIE*, 1618.

the second. *Crest*: A dragon sinister, wings expanded, argent, charged with a cross gules. *Supporters*: Two dragons, with wings expanded, argent, charged on the wings with a cross gules. *Motto*: NOMINE DIRIGE NOS.

Wks, II, 562.

Upon the utmost front of the building was placed the entire arms of the kingdom, with the garter, crown, and supporters, cut forth as fair and great as the life.

Arms of the kingdom. See the foregoing notes, and Figure 23.

Garter. One of the insignia of the Order of the Garter, consisting of a ribbon, blue, with gold borders, buckle, and pendant, and bearing the motto: *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. In the royal achievement (see Figure 23), the Garter is arranged in a circle about the shield, with the buckle at the base. See p. 55.

Supporters. James I. first bore two lions; secondly, two unicorns; and afterwards a lion or for England and

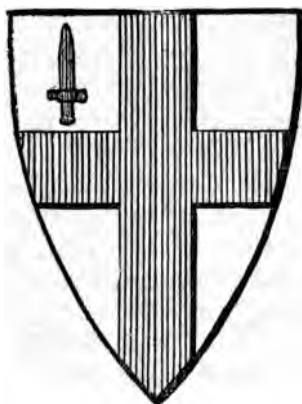


FIGURE 24.
ARMS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

a unicorn argent for Scotland.⁶⁸ The latter are blazoned: Dexter, the English lion, rampant gardant, crowned or; sinister, the Scottish unicorn, argent, gorged with the royal coronet, and chained or. Which of these three pairs of supporters was used in the decorations for King James's coronation, I have not seen specified; but I infer that it was the first.

⁶⁸ B. & A., 318.

PRINCE HENRY'S BARRIERS.

Wks, III, 67.

*Whilst upright Edward shines no less than he
Under the wings of golden victory,
Nor lets out no less rivers of the blood
Of infidels, but makes the field a flood,
And marches through it, with St. George's cross,
Like Israel's host to the Egyptians' loss,
Through the Red Sea.*

St. George's cross. This cross, as I have said in Chapter III, consists of two broad stripes, horizontal and vertical, intersecting at the center of the shield and extending to its perimeter. Legh blazons it as, "Argent, a playne croffe Geules;" ⁶⁹ and he goes on to tell how this particular form of the cross was adopted by St. George, and to relate its subsequent use. "Every price," says Legh, "maye take vnto him for his patrone whome hee please, as it pleased that victorious king, Edwarde the thirde, to take vnto his patrone that valiaunt knight fainct George, and to beare that shielde in his name. Who in all his cryes, vfed the fame against faint Dionife, and faint Andrew: By vertue whereof, either they were chafed, flaine, or taken prifoners." ⁷⁰

Wks, III, 67.

*The Black Prince Edward . . . tears
From the Bohemian crown the plume he wears,
Which after for his crest he did preserve
To his father's use, with this fit word, I SERVE.*

The plume of ostrich feathers with the motto *Ich dien*, appears on the tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral; but the tradition that he won this badge from the blind king of Bohemia at the battle of Crécy is no longer accepted. As Mr. Croston has

⁶⁹ Legh, Fol. 27 b. ⁷⁰ Legh, Fol. 28 a.

remarked, "The badge of the king of Bohemia was a vulture, and there is certainly no evidence to show that the Black Prince himself ever associated the device with his early exploit at Crescy."⁷¹ Moreover, the device of ostrich feathers did not pertain exclusively to the Black

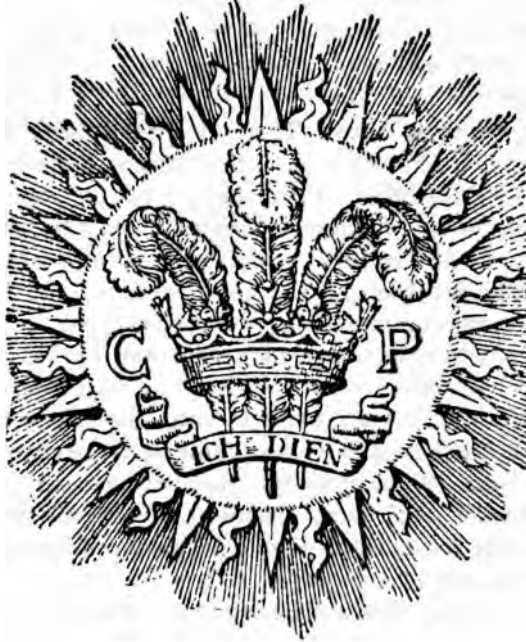


FIGURE 25.
FEATHER BADGE OF CHARLES I, AS PRINCE OF WALES.
REPRODUCED FROM THE MIRROR OF MAJESTIE, 1618.

Prince, but was borne also, with occasional differences, by his brothers and by many of their descendants. Not until the reign of Henry VII did it become a badge pertaining solely to the Prince of Wales.⁷²

⁷¹ Holbein Society reprint of *The Mirror of Maestie*, Annotation, p. 101.

⁷² For a more adequate discussion of the history of this badge, see Planché, 254-5, and 278-80; and B. & A., 305-9.

The accompanying illustration, Figure 25, shows this feather badge as it was borne by Charles, Prince of Wales, in 1618. I assume that this did not differ materially from that borne by his elder brother, Prince Henry, as Prince of Wales, from 1610 to his death in 1612.

Crest. According to modern usage, the ostrich plumes were a badge, or cognizance, and not in the strict sense a crest. On the tomb of the Black Prince they appear not on a helmet, but on six shields similar to the six that bear his arms.

Word. Motto. See p. 52.

I serve. "Ich dien;" still used by the Prince of Wales with this device.

Wks, III, 69.

*Henry but joined the roses that ensigned
Particular families, but this hath joined
The Rose and Thistle.*

Roses. The white and the red rose appear to have been the badges of York and Lancaster respectively for some time previous to the dispute between Richard Plantagenet and John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, represented, in *King Henry VI, Part I*, as the beginning of the War of the Roses.⁷³ At the conclusion of that struggle, King Henry VII symbolized the union of the two houses in his person by taking for his cognizance a device that united the badges of York and Lancaster: a rose, parti gules and argent, crowned proper.

The Rose and Thistle. The badges of England and Scotland respectively, united by James I.

A CHALLENGE AT TILT.

Wks, III, 88.

*I . . . demand of thee by what magic thou wear'st
my ensigns? . . . Those arms are usurped.*

⁷³ Planché, 236-44 and 269-71.

To usurp the arms of another was originally a serious matter. Mr. G. T. Clark ⁷⁴ gives a list of contests over coats armorial, the most recent of which, that of Blount *vs.* Blount, was decided in the Earl Marshal's court as late as 1720. Most famous of these, is that begun in 1384 and not concluded until 1390, between Richard, Lord Scrope, and Sir Robert Grosvenor. How King Richard II would have scoffed had he been told that this memorable trial would be known in future ages, not because it settled the momentous issue of the right to bear *azure a bend or*, but because one of the witnesses, a certain comptroller of petty customs, deposed in 1386 that he, the deponent, was then "*del age de xl ans et plus, armeez par xxvii ans*"!

A MASQUE OF THE METAMORPHOSED GIPSIES.

Wks, III, 141.

*As many blessings as there be bones
In Ptolemy's fingers, and all at ones,
Held up in an Andrew's cross for the nones,
Light on you, good master.*

Andrew's cross. The Saint Andrew's cross, or saltire, is an heraldic figure consisting of two diagonal stripes placed on the field like a letter "X." See page 28, and the eighth shield in Figure 6. In the passage here quoted, I infer that Ptolemy, the gipsy who speaks the prologue and prays for blessings on the king, so clasps his hands that his fingers form a Saint Andrew's cross.

Wks, III, 145.

The George and the garter.

Insignia of the Order of the Garter, described page 55.

⁷⁴ Article "Heraldry," in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XI, 686-7.

THE FORTUNATE ISLES.

Wks, III, 198.

*And sing the present prophecy that goes
Of joining the bright Lily and the Rose.*

The bright lily. The golden fleur-de-lis of France.

The Rose. The badge of England. See p. 59.

This passage refers to the marriage of King Charles I of England to Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII of France. Charles had married her by proxy, at Paris, May 1st, 1625; and she had arrived at Dover June 13th. This masque was presented at court on the following Twelfth-night, i.e. January 5th, 1626.

LOVE'S TRIUMPH THROUGH CALLIPOLIS.

Wks, III, 203.

*Beauty and Love, whose story is mysterial,
In yonder palm-tree, and the crown imperial,
Do from the Rose and Lily so delicious,
Promise a shade shall ever be propitious
To both the kingdoms.*

Rose and Lily. The emblems of England and France, used, as in the passage quoted from *The Fortunate Isles*, with reference to the French marriage of Charles I. See p. 59.

LOVE'S WELCOME AT WELBECK.

Wks, III, 215.

*ACCIDENCE . . . in a costly cassock of black
buckram girt unto him, whereon was painted party per
pale :*

On the one side.

Noun,
Pronoun,
Verb,
Participle,

} declined.

On the other side.

Adverb,
Conjunction,
Preposition,
Interjection,

} undeclined.

Party per pale. Divided into two halves by a vertical line, as in the first shield in Figure 4. See pages 23 and 24.

Wks, III, 215.

FITZALE . . . in a taberd, or herald's coat, of azure and gules quarterly changed, of buckram; limned with yellow instead of gold, and pasted over with old records of the two shires and certain fragments of the Forest, as a coat of antiquity and precedent, willing to be seen, but hard to be read.

Azure. The heraldic colour Blue. See p. 15.

Gules. The heraldic colour Red. See p. 15.

Quarterly. Divided by a vertical and a horizontal line into four equal parts, as the second shield in Figure 4. See page 24.

Wks, III, 216.

ACCIDENCE. This is the more remarkable man, my very good lord; father Fitz-Ale, herald of Darby, light and lanthorn of both counties; the learned antiquary of the north; conserver of the records of either Forest, as witnesseth the brief taberd or coat-armour he carries, being an industrious collection of all the written or reported Wonders of the Peak.

Taberd. A tabard, or herald's coat, regularly bore armorial insignia.

LOVE'S WELCOME AT BOLSOVER.

Wks, III, 221.

Hey for the lily, for, and the blended rose!

Lily. The fleur-de-lis of France, in honour of Henrietta Maria.

The blended rose. The "Tudor rose" of England, party red and white. See p. 60.

Wks, III, 221.

The King and Queen had a second banquet set down before them from the clouds by two Loves, Eros and Anteros: one as the King's, the other as the Queen's, differenced by their garlands only; his of white and red roses, the other of lilies interweaved, gold, silver, purple, &c.

Differenced. Bearing distinguishing marks. See p. 35.

White and red roses. A variation on the badge of England, a survival of the roses of York and Lancaster.

Lilies, . . . gold, silver, purple. A variation on the golden fleurs-de-lis of France, in honor of Henrietta Maria.



BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX.

Now, therefore, as all worldlye thinges
haue and ende, (except the household wordes
betweene man & wife, whiche some yeare
hath three endes), I think likewise to draw
to an ende of this booke.

—Lagh: *The Accedens of Armory*, 1576.
Folio 106 b.

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INDEX.

IN WHICH IS INCLUDED A CONCORDANCE OF THE HERALDIC TERMS IN JONSON'S PLAYS, MASQUES, AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

* A play or passage that requires no annotation.

† A term used in a non-heraldic sense; here included for comparison.

<i>B.F.</i> Bartholomew Fair.	<i>Mq. of Beauty.</i> Masque of Beauty.
<i>Barriers.</i> Barriers at the Marriage of of the Earl of Essex.	<i>Mq. of Blk.</i> Masque of Blackness.
<i>Bols.</i> Love's Welcome at Bolsover.	<i>Mq. of H.</i> Masque of Hymen.
<i>Callip.</i> Love's Triumph Through Callipolis.	<i>Mq. of M.G.</i> Masque of the Meta- morphosed Gipsies.
<i>Chal. at T.</i> A Challenge at Tilt.	<i>Mq. of O.</i> Masque of Oberon.
<i>C.J.A.</i> The Case is Altered.	<i>Mq. of Q.</i> Masque of Queens.
<i>Cat.</i> Catiline His Conspiracy.	<i>N.I.</i> The New Inn.
<i>C.R.</i> Cynthia's Revels.	<i>N.N.W.(Mq.)</i> News from the New World.
<i>Epi.</i> Epicæne.	<i>Panegyre.</i> Panegyre on the happy entrance of James.
<i>E.M.I.</i> Every Man In His Humour.	<i>P.H.B.</i> Prince Henry's Barriers.
<i>E.M.O.</i> Every Man Out of His Humour.	<i>Poet.</i> The Poetaster.
<i>F.I.(Mq.)</i> The Fortunate Isles.	<i>S. of N.</i> The Staple of News.
<i>Hue & Cry.</i> Hue and Cry After Cupid.	<i>Tub.</i> A Tale of a Tub.
<i>K.J.E.</i> King James's Entertainment.	<i>Volp.</i> Volpone.
<i>Merc. Vind.</i> Mercury Vindicated.	<i>Welbk.</i> Love's Welcome at Wel- beck.
<i>Mq. of A.</i> Masque of Augurs.	

Accessories.	50
See also: Achievement, Crest, Wreath, Helmet, Word or Motto, Supporters, Garter, Badges or Cognizances.	
Achievement.	50
Of a duke. Frontispiece.	54
Of a baron. Fig. 15.	56-8
Of a knight. Fig. 14.	52-3
Accidence. Accedens. See Legh, Gerard.	140
S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 292, I have read the Elements and Accidence.	108

Alchemist, The.*	
Alden, Dr. C. S. Editor of Bartholomew Fair.	77, 78, 142
Andrew's Cross. See Saltier. Fig. 6.	28
Mq. of M.G., 3, 141. Fingers . . . held up in an Andrew's Cross.	133
Anne, queen of James I, arms of. Fig. 2.	21
Annulet.	30
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Between two ann'lets sable.	94, 98
Argent.	15, 17
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. On a chief argent.	94, 98
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 322. Argent, three leeks vert.	119
Armory, Accedens of, see Legh, Gerard.	140
Elements of, see Bolton, Edmond.	139
True Use of, see Wyrley, William.	141
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Full of armory.	92
S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 292. An apprentice in armory.	108
Arms, Coats of.	13
College of Arms. See Herald's College.	61
Power to grant and confirm arms.	64, 65, 66-8
Abuses of power; grant of arms to the hangman of London.	66-8
Purchase of arms: E.M.O., 1, 1; 1, 75; and 3, 1; 1, 97.	89-90, 91
Arms of Anne, queen of James I. Fig. 2.	21
Of a baron, Sir Thomas West, Baron Grisley. Fig. 15.	56-8
Of Cæsar.	31, 104
Of the City (London). K.J.E., 2, 559. Fig. 24.	128-9
Of a duke, Thomas Lord Howard, Duke of Nor- folk. Frontispiece.	54
Of England.	127
Of France.	31-2, 127
Of Ireland.	127
Of James I. Fig. 23.	128
Of the kingdom.	127-8
Of a knight. Fig. 14.	52-3
Of La-Foole.	80, 82
Of London. Fig. 24.	128-9
Of Marston, John, the poet and dramatist. Fig. 19.	100-4
Of Scotland.	127
Of Sogliardo. Fig. 17 and Fig. 18.	93-8

C.I.A., 4, 4; 2, 544. Our arms be good enough.*	
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 97. Has he purchased arms then?	91
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 97. Fit him with legs to his arms.	91
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. But have you arms, have you arms?	92
Poet., 2, 1; 1, 217. You shall see my arms.	100
Poet., 2, 1; 1, 218. Vouchsafe the sight of my arms.	99
Poet., 2, 1; 1, 218. Cri-spinas . . . expressed in my arms.	100
S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 302. Have her arms set up.*	
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 323. Shall give us all our arms.	121
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 324. He can give arms and marks.	121
Tub., 1, 3; 2, 445. The supporters of the arms.	124, 126
Volp., 1, 1; 1, 342. Arms engraved.	126
K.J.E., 2, 558. Arms of the kingdom.	127-8
K.J.E., 2, 559. Arms of the city.	128-9
K.J.E., 2, 562. The entire arms of the kingdom.	128-9
Chal. at T., 3, 88. Those arms are usurped.	132-3
See Coats.	
Ass, in heraldry, Gerard Legh's commendation of.	75
Azure.	15, 17
Epi., 1, 1; 1, 411. Or, checkered azure and gules.	80, 82
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Gyrony of eight pieces, azure and gules.	94, 96
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321. In a field azure, a sun proper.	117
Mq. of Blk., 3, 4. The colours, azure and silver.*	
Welbk., 3, 215. Azure and gules quarterly.	135
Badges; and Royal Badges.	58, 59
Feather badge of the Prince of Wales. Fig. 25.	130-1
C.I.A., 4, 4; 2, 544. What badge shall we give?	78
Baron, achievement of. Fig. 15.	56-8
Baron and femme.	38
Bartholomew Fair.	77
Edition by Dr. C. S. Alden.	77, 142
Beamy.	118
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321. A sun proper beamy twelve of the second.	117, 118
Bear.	13
Epi., 1, 1; 1, 411. We do bear for our coat.	80, 82

117 82

Epi., 4, 2; 1, 448. Make you bear a blow over the mouth gules.	83
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321. He bears.	117
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 322. She bears.	119
Bezant.	30
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 322. What be these?—Bezants?	118, 119
Black Prince. P.H.B., 3, 67.	130
Blazon; to blazon; to blaze.	16
Blazon of tinctures.	17-18
Rules for.	18
C.R., 2, 1; 1, 162. Colour upon colour . . . an ill blazon.	79
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. You can blazon the rest.	94
N.I., 1, 1; 2, 343. The blazon of a gentleman.*	
N.I., 3, 2; 2, 365. Thy blazon's false.*	
Poet., 1, 1; 1, 212. They are blazoned there.	99
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321. I know it, if I hear the blazon.	117
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 322. Blaze, sir, that coat.	119
Mq. of Q., 3, 60. Not though her loudest trumpet blaze your peace.*†	
Bloody toe.	100-4
Poet., 2, 1; 1, 218. A bloody toe between three thorns pungent.	100-4
Blue-mantle pursuivant.	62-3, 105
Boar.	31, 44-5, 52-3
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. It is your boar without a head rampant. A boar without a head, that's very rare!	93
Boar's head.	31
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. A boar's head proper.	94, 98
Bohemian. P.H.B., 3, 67. From the Bohemian crown.	130
Bolton, Edmond. His Elements of Armories, 1610.	4, 6, 108-9, 139
Dr. Winter's note on.	108-9
Borough of Borough, arms and pedigree.	43-5
Brooke, or Brookesmouth, Ralph, York herald.	66, 67
Controversy with Camden; and a bibliography thereof.	85-7
Buried with heralds.	64, 65, 70-2

YOU

- S. of N., 1, 2; 2, 288. Buried with the trumpeters. 105-8
 See Funerals.
- Buy.** 66-7
- E.M.O., 1, 1; 1, 75. You may buy one. 89, 90
- Cadency, Marks of; see Differences.** 35
- Caesar.** Arms of, according to Legh. 31, 104
- Poet., 5, 1; 1, 253. Does not Cæsar give the eagle? 104
- Camden, William.** E.M.I., Dedication; 1, 1. 83
- Appointment as Clarencieux. 84
- Controversy with Brooke; bibliography thereof. 85-7
- Trouble over deputies; letter to Cotton. 86-8
- Death and will. 88
- References to Bolton's Elements. 4, 108, 109
- Remains concerning Britain. 4, 139
- Officiates at the degradation of Sir Francis Mitchell. 123
- Canton.** 29
- S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 322. Three leeks vert in canton or. 119, 120
- Carter, Matthew.** His Honor Redivivus. 6, 139
- Case Is Altered, The.** 78
- Catiline, His Conspiracy.** 79
- Charges. Charged.** 26
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. A very fair coat, well charged. 92
- Hue & Cry, 3, 37. Two pilasters, charged.*
- Chaucer.** Deposition in the Scrope-Grosvenor trial. 133
- Checkered. Checquy.** 82, 96
- Epi., 1, 1; 1, 411. Yellow, or or, checkered azure and gules. 80, 82
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. A chevron engrailed checquy. 94, 96
- Chester herald.** 62
- Chevron.** Fig. 4. Fig. 6. 24, 28
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. A chevron engrailed checquy. 94, 96
- Mq. of Blk., 3, 4. A chevron of lights.† * 94, 96
- Mq. of H., 3, 29. Cheveroned all over with lace.† *
- Chief.** Fig. 3. Fig. 6. 23, 27-8
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. On a chief argent. 94, 96
- Poet., 2, 1; 1, 218. A face crying in chief. 100
- S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 301. My nephew and my chief, the point, 113-14
- Tip, top, and tuft of all our family.
- Cicero.** Cat., 2, 1; 2, 92. Cicero, . . . a mere upstart. 79

City of London. Arms of, Fig. 24	127-9
K.J.E., 2, 559. On the other side, the arms of the city.	127, 128
Clapham of Beamsley, arms and pedigree.	39-41
Clarencieux, king of arms.	62, 63
See Camden, William.	83-8
E.M.I., Dedication; 1, 1. To the most learned, and my honoured friend, Master Camden, Clarencieux.	83-4
Coat. Coat of Arms. Coat-armour.	13
Cat., 2, 1; 2, 92. No pedigree, no house, no coat.	79
Epi., 1, 1; 1, 411. We do bear for our coat	80, 82
Epi., 1, 1; 1, 411. Which is a very noted coat	80, 82
E.M.O., 1, 1; 1, 75. I'll give coats, that's my humour.†	89-90
E.M.O., 1, 1; 1, 75. A coat ^d of arms to fit you.	89
E.M.O., 1, 1; 1, 75. I'll . . . have a most prodigious coat.	89
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 97. Of 'as many colours as e'er you saw any fool's coat in your life.†	91
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. A very fair coat well charge.	92
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321. Here is his coat.	117
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 322. That is our coat, too.	119
S. of F., 4, 1; 2, 322. Blaze, sir, that coat.	119
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 325. Reverse his coat-armour.	122-3
Tub., 1, 3; 2, 445. Yes, minor coats.	124
Tub., 1, 3; 2, 445. The coat-armour of his place.	124, 126
K.J.E., 2, 556. The particular coat of England, . . . of Scotland. . . . Of France and Ireland.	127
See Arms.	
Cognizance. See Badge.	58-60
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 97. Against his cognizance was ready.	91
Collar.	55
F.I.(Mq.), 3, 193. You will have your collar sent you.*	
College of Arms. See Herald's College.	
Colour.	15, 17
C.R., 2, 1; 1, 162. Colour upon Colour . . . an ill blazon.	79

- Epi., 1, 1; 1, 411. And some three or four colours more. 80, 82
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 97. Of as many colours as e'er you saw. 91
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Much variety of colours in it. 92, 93
- Mq. of Blk., 4. The colours, azure and silver.*
- See Tinctures.
- Common Charges. 30-35
- Composition of Tinctures. 20
- Cotton, Sir Robert, Camden's letter to. 87-8
- Crest. 50
- Of the Prince of Wales (properly, a badge). Fig. 25. 130-31
- Of Sogliardo: E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. A boar without a head, rampant. 93
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. How like you the crest, sir? 93
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Your crest is very rare, sir. 94
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. A frying-pan to the crest had had no fellow. 94
- P.H.B., 3, 67. Which after for his crest he did preserve. 130-1
- Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, 4, 2. You do give for your creast a woodcockes head, with the braines pickt out on't. 1
- Crispinus, Arms of. Poet., 2, 1; 1, 218 99-100
- Relation of, to the arms or name of John Marston: opinions of Mr. F. G. Fleay, Dr. B. Nicholson, Rev. A. B. Grosart, Dr. H. S. Malory, and the present writer. 100-4
- Cross. Fig. 6. 27, 28
- B.F., 1, 1; 2, 153. Cross and pile.† 77
- P.H.B., 3, 67. And marches through it with St. George's cross. 130
- Mq. of M.G., 3, 141. Fingers . . . held up in an Andrew's cross. 133
- Cullisen. Cullison. See Badge, Cognizance. 58-60
- C.I.A., 4, 4; 2, 544. What badge shall we give, what cullison? 78
- E.M.O., 1, 1; 1, 75. I lack a cullisen. 89, 90
- Cynthia's Revels. 79
- Dallaway, Rev. James. 68, 69, 70, 141
- Dancettée. In the arms of Marston. 100-4
- Darby-House, or Derby-House. See Heralds' Office.

Degradation. S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 325.	122-3
Demi-greyhound. In the arms of Marston.	100-4
The Devil is an Ass.*	
Dexter. See: Points of the Shield.	23
Differences.	35-6
C.I.A., 1, 3; 2, 526. Didst thou ne'er read in difference of good	
'Tis more to shine in virtue than in blood? † *	
Mq. of Blk., 3, 4. Without difference.*	
Bols., 3, 221. Differenced by their garlands only.	136
Dodridge, John: A consideration of the office and dutye of the Herauldes in Englande.	62-4, 139
Dormant. Tub., 4, 3; 2, 469. His trestles dormant.†*	
Dragon.	31
Tub., 1, 3; 2, 445. A dragon and a greyhound for the supporters.	124-5
Dransfield of Stubbs Walden, arms and pedigree.	41-2
Duke, achievement of. Frontispiece.	54
Eagle.	31
Poet., 5, 1; 1, 253. Does not Cæsar give the eagle?	104
Earl Marshal.	54, 61
Elements. See Bolton.	4, 6, 108-9, 139
S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 292. I have read the Elements.	108-9
Elizabeth, Queen.	19, 66, 125, 127
Emblazon, distinguished from "to blazon."	94
England, coat of. K.J.E., 2, 556.	127
Badge of. See Rose.	
Engrailed. E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. A chevron engrailed.	94, 96
Epicoene, or The Silent Woman.	80
Edition by Dr. Aurelia Henry.	142
Ermine.	15
In the arms of Marston.	100-4
Ermins.	15
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Checquy, or, vert, and ermins.	94, 96
Escutcheon. See Shield.	13
C.I.A., 4, 4; 2, 544. A gudgeon! a scutcheon, thou wouldst say.	78
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. The most . . . ridiculous escutcheon.	94
Escutcheon of Pretense.	38, 39
Every Man In His Humour.	83
Every Man Out of His Humour.	89

- Face. Poet., 2, 1; 1, 218. A face crying in chief. 100-4
 Feather Badge of the Prince of Wales. Fig. 25. 130-1
 P.H.B., 3, 67. The plume . . . {with this fit
 word, 'I serve.' 130-1
 Ferne, John. His Blazon of Gentry, 1586. 4, 6, 139
 Fesse. Fig. 3. Fig. 4. Fig. 6. 23, 24, 26, 28
 In the arms of Marston. 100-4
 Field. 13-14
 E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Hog's cheek and puddings
 in a pewter field. 94
 S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321. In a field azure, a sun proper. 117
 First, of the. 18
 S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 322. Tasselled of the first. 119, 121
 Fleay, Mr. F. G. 100, 103-4
 Fleur-de-lis. Fig 9. 31-2
 In the arms of Marston. 100-4
 See Lily.
 Fool's Coat. E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 97. 91, 92
 See also Arms of La Foole. 80, 82
 France, arms of. 127
 See under Fleur-de-lis. 31-2
 K.J.E., 2, 556. Coats of France and Ireland. 127
 Funerals, heraldic. 64, 65, 70-1
 Frequency, 71; Expense of, 72; Jonson on, 73.
 S. of N., 1, 2; 2, 288. Buried with the trumpeters
 . . . the heralds at arms. 105, 106
 Evasion of requirements, 107; the Conquest case, 107.
 Dr. Winter's note. 107-8
 Furs. 15
 Gardant or Guardant. 34
 See also Fig. 16. 81
 C.R., 3, 3; 1, 170. If she be guardant here. 80
 Garter, the Order of; and its insignia. 55
 Shakspeare on: *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 5, 5. 55-6
 K.J.E., 2, 562. Arms . . . with the garter. 128-9
 Mq. of M.G., 3, 145. The George and the Garter. 133
 Garter king of arms. 62
 See also, Segar, Sir William.
 Gentleman. Definition of. 92, 123
 E.M.O., Character of the Persons; 1, 63. So
 enamoured of the name of a gentleman
 that he will have it, though he buys it.*
 E.M.O., 1, 1; 1, 75. These mushroom gentlemen. 89

E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. I can write myself gentleman now.	92
N.I., 1, 1; 2, 343. The blazon of a gentleman.*	
Poet., 2, 1; 1, 217. Your legs do sufficiently show you are a gentleman born.*	
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 325. Nullify him for no gentleman.	122-3
George, The.	55
Mq. of M.G., 3, 145. The George and the Garter.	55, 133
George's cross, Saint. Fig. 6. Fig. 24.	27-8
P.H.B., 3, 67. Marches through it with St. George's cross.	130
Geronne; or Gyrony. Fig. 4.	24
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Gyrony of eight pieces, azure and gules.	94
Gifford, William. See Editions of Jonson.	142
His note on the heraldic terms in S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321-2.	114-15
His incorrect definition of "To blazon," Poet., 1, 1; 1, 212.	99
Give. (To bear.)	13
C.I.A., 4, 4; 2, 544. What badge shall we give?	78
Poet., 5, 1; 1, 253. Does not Cæsar give the Eagle?	104
Give. (To grant.)	64, 65, 66-8
C.I.A., 4, 4; 2, 544. Some harrot of arms . . . shall give us a gudgeon.	78
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 323. Shall give us all our arms.	121
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 324. He can give arms and marks.	121
Glover, Robert. His Visitation of Yorkshire.	39, 139
His rules of marshalling.	38-9
Greyhound.	32
Tub., 1, 3; 2, 445. A dragon and a greyhound for the supporters.	124-5
Demi-greyhound, in the arms of Marston.	100-4
Grosart, Rev. A. B.	101
Gudgeon. (Escutcheon.) See Shield.	13
C.I.A., 4, 4; 2, 544. A gudgeon! a scutcheon thou wouldst say, man.	78
Guillim, John. His Display of Heraldry.	4, 6, 140
Editions of.	6, note
Gules.	15, 17
Epi., 1, 1; 1, 411. Or, checkered azure and gules.	80, 82
Epi., 4, 2; 1, 448. Bear a blow over the mouth gules.	83

E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Gyrony of eight pieces, azure and gules.	94-5
Welbk., 3, 215. Azure and gules, quarterly. Gyrony. Geronne. Fig. 4.	135 24
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Gyrony of eight pieces. Harrot. See Heralds, below. Hatchments. See Achievements.	94
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 325. Pluck down his hatchments. Helmet.	122, 123 51-2
Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I.	32, 134, 135, 136
Henry, Dr. Aurelia. Editor of <i>Epicœne</i> .	77, 142
Note on Epi., 3, 2; 1, 433.	82-3
Note on Epi., 4, 2; 1, 448.	83
Reference to S. of N., 1, 2; 2, 288.	70, 82-3
Heralds; and the Heralds' College.	61-73
Membership: kings, heralds, pursuivants.	61-3
Duties of, defined by Dodridge.	63-4
Duties of, defined by Thynne.	64-6
Conferring of arms.	64, 65, 66-8
Recording and certifying of pedigrees.	64, 64, 68-70
Supervision of funerals.	64, 65, 70-2, 106-8
Jonson's attitude toward heralds and heraldry.	73
Alchem., 4, 1; 2, 47. No herald, no, nor anti- quary, . . . shall do it better.*	
C.I.A., 4, 4; 2, 544. Some harrot of arms.	78
Epi., 3, 2; 1, 433. Sent for the heralds.	82-3
E.M.I., 1, 3; 1, 10. The harrot's book.	89
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Among the harrots yonder.	92
N.I., 2, 2; 2, 360. Queen of heralds.*	
Poet., 1, 1; 1, 212. Need no other heralds.	99
Poet., 4, 1; 1, 239. A poet? . . . no, . . . a herald.*	
Poet., 4, 1; 1, 239. A herald at arms! good!*	
Poet., 4, 3; 1, 242. Some wine, king of heralds.*	
Poet., 4, 3; 1, 243. Mercury, our herald.*	
S. of N., 1, 2; 2, 288. Buried with the trumpeters . . . the heralds of arms.	105, 106-8
S. of N., 1, 2; 2, 289. Master Piedmantle, the fine herald.*	
S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 292. A herald at arms? . . . No, sir, a pursuivant.*	
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321. Her grace's herald? . . . No herald yet, a heraldet.*	

- S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 324. Do not I love a herald? 73, 121
 S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 324. Were he a learned herald. 73, 121
 S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 325. Master Piedmantle, her
 grace's herald. 122
 Panegyre, 2, 569. The fittest herald to proclaim
 true joys.*
 Barriers, 3, 31. Best herald of thine own birth.*
 Mq. of O., 3, 77. The herald of the day, bright
 Phosphorus.*
 N.N.W. (Mq.), 3, 134. Enter two heralds.*
 Mq. of A., 3, 166. The heralds of his highest
 will.*
 Welbk., 3, 215. A taberd, or herald's coat. 135
 Welbk., 3, 216. Father Fitz-Ale, herald of Darby. 135
 Welbk., 3, 217. His horse it is the herald's weft.*
 Herald's Office. Derby House. 90
 E.M.O., 2, 1; 1, 90. You shall have me at the
 heralds' office. 90
 E.M.O., 2, 2; 1, 95. They shall have him at the
 heralds' office yonder, by Paul's. 90
 E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 97. He is at the heralds' office
 yonder. 91
 S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 292. Search your office; roll five
 and twenty, you will find it so.*
 Heraldry. 13-73
 Antiquity of, according to Legh. 104
 N.I., 4, 3; 2, 378. Is this your heraldry and keep-
 ing of records?*"Honi soit qui mal y pense." 55, 56
 Honorable Ordinaries. Fig. 6. 26-9
 Howard, Thomas, Dukes of Norfolk. 54, 66, 90
 Ireland, arms of. K.J.E., 2, 556. 127
 "I serve." Motto of the Black Prince. 52
 P.H.B., 3, 67. His crest . . . with this fit word,
 "I serve." 130-1
 James I. 67, 127
 Arms of. Fig. 23. 128
 King James's Entertainment. 127
 Kings of Arms. 62, 63, 64-6
 N.I., 2, 2; 2, 354. A host who should be king at
 arms and ceremonies in his own house. 99
 N.I., 3, 2; 2, 365. Foolish queen at arms, thy
 blazon's false.*

- Kingdom, the arms of the. Fig. 23. 127-8
- K.J.E., 2, 558. The arms of the kingdom on the one side. 127
- K.J.E., 2, 562. The entire arms of the kingdom, with the garter, crown, and supporters. 128-9
- Knight, achievement of. Fig. 14. 52-3
- Label. Fig. 7. 32
- S. of N., 1, 2; 2, 288. Ribands laid out like labels. †? 33, 35, 106
- Mq. of H., 3, 29. Their labels were of white cloth of silver.† * 33, 35, 106
- Mq. of H., 3, 29. Silver greaves, answering to the work of their labels.† * 33, 35, 106
- Welbk., 3, 215. A label . . . advertising.† * 62, 63
- Lancaster herald. 62, 63
- See also, Thynne, Francis.
- Lancaster, Rose of. See Rose.
- Lawson of Borough, arms and pedigree. 44-5
- Leek. 33, 119, 120
- Shakspere's Fluellen on Leeks, *King Henry V*, 4, 7. 120
- S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 322. Argent, three leeks vert in canton or, tasselled of the first. 119, 120
- Lekh, Gerard. His Accedens of Armory, 1576. 140
- Mention of by Jonson, Camden, Guillim, and others. 4-6
- Specimen page from. Fig. 1. 5
- Other illustrations from. Frontispiece and pp. 25, 53, 57, 81, 112, 117
- Editions of. 6, note; 108
- Summary of: scholarship; sources; digressions; discussion of the shield, of charges, of achievements, of miscellaneous topics. 7-11
- Critical estimate of. 11-12
- S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 292. The Elements and Accidence and all the leading books. 108-9
- Description of. 108
- Dr. Winter's note on. 108-9
- Lennard, Samson, Blue-mantle pursuivant. 105
- Lily. See also, Fleur-de-lis.
- Mq. of H., 3, 23. Lilies and roses.† * 134
- F.I. (Mq.), 3, 198. The bright Lily and the Rose. 134

Callip., 3, 203. Lilies and roses twining together.	59
Callip., 3, 203. The Rose and Lily so delicious.	134
Bols., 3, 221. Hey for the Lily.	135
Bols., 3, 221. Lilies, . . . gold, silver, purple.	136
Lion.	33
Rampant. Fig. 5.	25, 33
Passant, guardant, regardant. Fig. 16.	34, 80, 81
London, arms of. Fig. 24.	128, 129
K.J.E., 2, 559. On the other side, the arms of the city.	127, 128
Lord-Lyon, King-at-Arms.	62-3
Love's Triumph through Callipolia.	134
Love's Welcome at Bolsover.	135
Love's Welcome at Welbeck.	134
Lozenge. Fig. 2 and Fig. 13	21-2, 48
Lozengy. Fig. 21.	111, 112
Magnetic Lady, The.*	
Mallory, Dr. H. S., Editor of The Poetaster.	77, 142
Note on Poet., 1, 1; 1, 212.	99
Note on Poet., 2, 1; 1, 218.	100
Note on the arms of Crispinus.	101
Mantel. Manteling.	52
Marmion. Quotation from IV, vi, vii.	62-3
Mars, an heraldic term for red.	17-18
In Mr. Fleay's explanation of the arms of Crispinus.	100, 103
Marshalling.	37-49
Baron and femme; and quartering.	38
Rules of Robert Glover, Somerset herald.	38-9
Examples of Marshalling:	
Clapham of Beamsley.	39-41
Dransfield of Stubbs Walden.	41-2
Borough and Lawson. Fig. 10-12.	42-5
The Lady Pecunia. Fig. 13.	45-9
Messengers of the chamber. Pursuivants.	124
Tub., 1, 3; 2, 445. Observed the messengers of the chamber.	124
Metals.	15, 17
Metal upon metal, in the Welsh coat of the Lady Pecunia.	20, 115, 120-1
C.R., 2, 1; 1, 162. Here comes metal to help it.	79
Mirrovr of Maiestie, The. 1618.	140
Arms of Anne, queen of James I. Fig. 2.	21

Arms of James I. Fig. 23.	128
Feather Badge of Charles I, as Prince of Wales. Fig. 25.	131
Mitchell, Sir Francis.	122-3
Mortimer, The Fall of. *	
Motto. Word.	52
New Inn, The.	99
Nicholson, Dr. B.	100-2
Nicolas, Sir Nicholas Harris.	85, 87
Noble, Rev. Mark.	106-7, 142
Norroy king of arms.	62
See also, St. George, Sir Richard.	
Nullify. See Degradation.	122-3
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 325. Nullify him for no gentleman.	122-3
Office, Herald's. Derby House.	90, 91
S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 292. Search your office.*	
Or.	15, 17
Epi., 1, 1; 1, 411. Yellow, or or, checkered azure and gules.	80, 82
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Checquy, or, vert, and ermine.	94, 96
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321. The Duke of Or.	116
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 322. Our coat . . . as we come from Or.	119
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 322. In canton or.	119, 120-1
Ordinaries Generall. Subordinaries.	29
Order. Insignia.	55
F. I. (Mq.), 3, 193. There's your order.	55
Pale. Fig. 4. Fig. 6.	23, 24, 26, 28
Welbk., 3, 215. Party per pale.	134-5
Partitions. Fig. 4.	23-5
Party per pale.	23, 24, 38
Welbk., 3, 215. Party per pale.	134-5
Passant. Fig. 16.	33-4, 80, 81
C.R., 3, 3; 1, 170. Put the case she should be passant.	80
S. of N., 1, 2; 2, 282. Is this same hat of the block passant? [currant, present.]*	
Patent, granting arms.	65
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Here's my patent, it cost me thirty pound.	92

Peacham, Henry.	6, 140-1
The Compleat Gentleman.	140-1
The Gentleman's Exercise.	141
Pecunia, Lady. Character in The Staple of News.	114-21
Pedigree and arms of. Fig. 13.	45-9, 114-21
Pedigrees; duty of heralds to record.	64, 68-70
Pedigree of Clapham of Beamsley.	39-41
Pedigree of Dransfield of Stubbs Walden.	41-2
Pedigree of Borough of Borough.	43-5
Pedigree of Lawson of Borough.	44-5
Pedigree of Aurelia Clara Pecunia, the Infanta.	45-9
Cat., 2, 1; 2, 92. A mere upstart that has no pedigree.	79
E.M.I., 1, 3; 1, 10. My pedigree . . . by the harrot's book.	89
N.I., 5, 1; 2, 382. Thou know'st her pedigree then?*	
Poet., 1, 1; 1, 212. There they are tricked, they and their pedigrees.	99
S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 292. Sir, I have drawn a pedigree for her grace.*	
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321. Enter Piedmantle with Pecunia's pedigree.	114
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321-2. (Gifford's note on.)	114-15
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321. My pedigree?	115
Per pale.	23
Welbk., 3, 215. Party per pale.	134-5
Piedmantle. Character in The Staple of News.	105-23
Name suggested by the title "Blue-mantle".	105
Dr. Winter's interpretation of the name.	110
S. of N., Dram. Pers.; 2, 278. Piedmantle, pursuivant at arms.	105
Pile.	29
B. F., 1, 1; 2, 153. Cross and pile.†	29, 78
Plate.	34
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Between three plates.	94, 96
Plume. Feather Badge. Fig 25.	130-1
P.H.B., 3, 67. Tears from the Bohemian crown the plume.	130-1
Poetaster, The.	99

Index.

159

Edition by Dr. H. S. Mallory.	142
Points of the shield. Fig. 3.	22, 23
Portcullis pursuivant.	62, 63
Pretense, Escutcheon of.	38, 39
Proper.	18
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. A boar's head proper.	94, 98
S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321. A sun proper.	117, 118
Pungent.	100
Poet., 2, 1; 1, 218. A bloody toe between three thorns pungent.	100
Purchased arms.	66-8, 89, 90
E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 97. What, has he purchased arms, then?	91
Purple.	15, 17
See also the note on "Sanguine," S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 292.	109-13
Pursuivants.	62-3
Not all pursuivants were members of the Heralds' College.	78, 124 126
B.F., 1, 1; 2, 158. Mistake an honest, zealous pursuivant for a seminary.	78
S. of N., Dram. Pers.; 2, 278. Piedmantle, pursuivant at arms.	105
S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 292. A pursuivant, my name is Piedmantle.*	
Tub., 2, 1; 2, 454. Enter . . . Metaphor disguised as a pursuivant.	126
Tub., 2, 1; 2, 455. He is a pursuivant a arms.* (The word occurs four times more on the same page.)*	
Tub., 2, 1; 2, 456. You are a pursuivant? * (The word occurs twice more on the same page.)*	
Quartering. See Marshalling.	37-49
Quarterly. Fig. 4.	24
Welbk., 3, 215. Azure and gules, quarterly.	135
Queen Anne, consort of James I.	21
Queen Elizabeth. See Elizabeth.	
Queen at Arms. Cf. King at Arms.	
N.I., 2, 2; 2, 360. Good queen of heralds, ply the bottle, and sleep.*	

- N.I., 3, 2; 2, 365. Foolish queen at arms, thy blazon's false.*
- Rampant. Fig. 5. 25, 33
- B.F., Induction; 2, 146. As fresh a hypocrite as ever was broached, rampant.*
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. A boar without a head, rampant. 93
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Ay, and rampant, too! 93
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. A swine . . . ramping to gentility. 93
- Poet., 5, 1; 1, 256. Ramp up, my genius.*
- Tub., 4, 2; 2, 468. An officer, rampant.*
- Regardant. Reguardant. Fig. 16. 34, 80, 81
- C.R., 3, 3; 1, 170. If reguardant, then maintain your station. 80
- Reversed arms. See Degradation. 122
- S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 325. Reverse his coat-armour. 122
- Richard III. Incorporates the Herald's College. 61, 62
- Richmond herald. 62
- See also, Camden, William. 85
- Rose. Fig. 8. 32, 34, 59-60
- Mq. of Beauty, 3, 13. Two roses, a white and a red.† *
- Mq. of H., 3, 23. Lilies and roses.† *
- P.H.B., 3, 69. The roses that ensigned particular families. 59, 132
- P.H.B., 3, 69. Joined the Rose and Thistle. 59, 132
- F.I. (Mq.), 3, 198. Joining the bright Lily and the Rose. 59, 134
- Callip., 3, 203. Lilies and roses twining together. 59
- Callip., 3, 203. The Rose and Lily so delicious. 60, 134
- Bols., 3, 221. The blended rose. 60, 135
- Bols., 3, 221. White and red roses. 136
- Rouge-Croix pursuivant. 62, 63
- Rouge-Dragon pursuivant. 62, 63, 125
- Roundels. 34
- Sable. 15, 17
- C.I.A., 4, 3; 2, 540. Still in sable and costly black array, ha? † *
- E.M.O., 3, 1; 1, 100. Between two ann'lets sable. 94, 98
- In the arms of Marston. Fig. 19. 102-3

- Sad Shepherd, The.***
- Saint Andrew's Cross.** See Saltier. Fig. 6. 28-9
- Mq. of M.G., 3, 141.** Fingers . . . held up in an Andrew's cross. 133
- St. George, Sir Richard,** Norroy king of arms. 39, 85, 88
- Saint George's Cross.** Fig. 6 and Fig. 24. 27, 28, 129, 130
- P.H.B., 3, 67.** Marches . . . with St. George's cross. 130
- Saltier.** Fig. 6. 28-9
- Sanguine.** 15, 17
- S. of N., 2, 1; 2, 292.** This so pure complexion, a perfect sanguine.† 109-13
- Dr. Winter's note on this passage.** 109-10
- Comment on Dr. Winter's note.** 110-13
- "Sanguine," in this passage, not heraldic.** 113
- Sans nombre.** 83
- Epi., 4, 2; 1, 448.** Tweaks by the nose sans nombre. 83
- Scotland, Arms of.** 127
- K.J.E., 2, 556.** The . . . coat . . . of Scotland. 127
- Scotland, Badge of.** See Thistle. 132
- Scott, Sir Walter.** Quotation from *Marmion*, IV, vi, vii. 62-3
- Scottish College of Arms.** 62-3
- Scrope-Grosvenor trial.** 133
- Scutcheon.** Escutcheon. See Shield. 13, 21
- C.I.A., 4, 4; 2, 544.** A gudgeon! a scutcheon thou wouldst say, man. 78
- K.J.E., 2, 556.** On either side also a crown, with the like scutcheons, and peculiar coats of France and Ireland. 127
- Second, Of the.** 18
- S. of N., 4, 1; 2, 321.** A sun proper beamy twelve of the second. 117, 118
- Segar, Sir William,** Garter king of arms. 67, 109
- Sejanus, His Fall.***
- Semee.** See under "sans nombre." 83
- Mq. of H., 3, 22.** Semined with stars. 34-5
- Shakspeare, Heraldic passages in:**
- Alfred von Mauntz:** *Heraldik in Diensten der Shakespeares Forschung.* 3, note

